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SMOLDERING EMBERS: CZECH-GERMAN CULTURAL COMPETITION

1848-1948

by

C. Brandon Hone

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

History

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2010

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ABSTRACT

Smoldering Embers:
Czech-German Cultural Competition, 1848-1948

by

C. Brandon Hone, Master of Arts

Utah State University, 2010

Major Professor: Dr. C. Robert Cole
Program: History

After World War II, state-sponsored deportations amounting to ethnic cleansing occurred and showed that the roots of the Czech-German cultural competition are important. In Bohemia, Czechs and Germans share a long history of contact, both mutually beneficial and antagonistic. Bohemia became one of the most important constituent realms of the Holy Roman Empire, bringing Czechs into close contact with Germans.

During the reign of Václav IV, a theologian at the University of Prague named Jan Hus began to cause controversy. Hus began to preach the doctrines outlined by the Englishman John Wycliffe. At the Council of Constance church officials sought to stamp out Wycliffism and as part of that effort summoned Hus, convicted him of heresy and burned him at the stake on July 6, 1415. Bohemia rose in rebellion, in what became the Hussite Wars.

Bohemians elected a Hussite king, George of Poděbrady. Shortly after his death, the Thirty Years War began and resulted in the Austrian Habsburgs gaining the throne of Bohemia. The Habsburg dynasty suppressed Protestantism in the Czech lands and ushering in a brutal Counter-Reformation and forced reconversion to Catholicism.

By the nineteenth century, a revival of Czech culture and language brought about Czech nationalism. Spurred by the nobility's desire to regain lost power from the monarchy, a distinct Czech culture began to coalesce. With noble patronage, Czech nationalists established many of the symbols of the Czech nation such as the Bohemian Museum and the National Theater and initiated Czech language instruction at Charles University in Prague and finally a separate Czech university in Prague.

The first generation of nationalist Czech leaders, lead by František Palacký, gave way to a newer generation of nationalists, lead eventually by Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk. Masaryk, a professor at the university, successfully lead the efforts during World War I to create an independent Czechoslovakia. Masaryk's decades-long debate with historian Josef Pekař over the meaning of Czech history illustrates how Czech nationalists distorted historical facts to fit their nationalist ideology.

The nationalists succeeded in gaining independence, but faced unsuccessfully forged a new state with a significant, but problematic, German minority.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On October 28, 1918, the Czechoslovak National Council, headed by Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, proclaimed the independence of Czechoslovakia from Austria-Hungary. Independence was the culmination of almost a century of work by various Czech nationalists. Men like František Palacký, Bedřich Smetana, Antonín Dvořák, Karel Havlíček Borovský and Masaryk created a Czech nationality and gained political power for the nation. This rise of nationalist sentiment and renewed emphasis of Czech culture and language became known as the Czech National Revival, as the nationalists viewed the Hussite Revolution (1415-1620) as the previous height of Czech culture, thus providing a historical basis for their claims of an ancient origin of the culture.

Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia are the traditional lands of the Bohemian crown. The dukes, and later kings, of Bohemia ruled these lands as early as 800 CE with Prague as their capital. The first ruling dynasty of Bohemia, the Přemyslids, ruled a realm that at times stretched to the Adriatic Sea. The Kingdom of Bohemia became part of the Holy Roman Empire in the twelfth century. By the reign of Charles IV as King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor, Bohemia became one of the most important members of the Empire. During the fifteenth century, Bohemia became the scene of intense religious strife after the Council of Constance burned religious reformer Jan Hus at the stake on July 6, 1415.

The burning of Jan Hus sparked the religious-based uprising that bears Hus' name. Hus' followers, the Hussites revolted against the King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor, Sigismund of Luxembourg (son of Charles IV) in a series of wars. Hussite forces, lead by Jan Žižka z Trocnova, defeated three different crusader armies and terrorized Europe for half of a century, until the various Hussite factions began to fight each other. Ultimately, the Hussites suffered a crushing defeat to Catholic forces at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. As a result of this battle, the Austrian Habsburg dynasty inherited the throne of Bohemia. The staunchly Catholic Habsburgs initiated a brutal counter-Reformation that suppressed the native Bohemian Protestant movement. The Habsburgs destroyed the power of the Protestant nobility by executing or exiling most of the important nobles. Another result of the defeat at White Mountain, Czechs became a minority in Habsburg Austria.

The rise of Czech nationalism in the nineteenth century had multiple causes. With changes in society brought about by economic changes, in conjunction with changes in the imperial government of the Habsburg lands initiated by Emperor Joseph II. The main reforms that initiated the rise of Czech national awareness and eventually nationalism were the adoption of German as the official language of the Empire and compulsory primary education to create an educated workforce for the emerging industrial economy. German replaced Latin as the official language of the Empire in 1784. This act was an attempt to streamline administration of the Empire, not as an attempt to promote Germans over other nationalities even though later generations viewed this act as such a promotion. To Joseph II, the simple fact that German speakers existed throughout the

Empire, while other languages that existed in the Habsburg lands did not have as much uniformity in distribution (Czech speakers, for example, did not exist in any significant numbers outside of Bohemia and Moravia) was the main reason for choosing German as the Empire's administrative language. For Joseph II, these efforts were meant to strengthen administration of the Empire, based on liberal principals of the Enlightenment.

In addition to the language reforms, the Emperor abolished serfdom. While on the surface, this would seem to diminish the power of the nobility, as they would lose their free labor, the opposite occurred. The imperial government gave landholders with serfs compensation for the loss of potential revenue, which encouraged reinvestment in their lands. Increasing mechanization allowed noble lands to be more productive and efficient. The new-found wealth of the nobility allowed for a transformation of aristocratic wealth from land into industry. The nobility, in turn, became great patrons of the arts and sciences, which they used as a counter to imperial patronage. The creation of institutions like the Bohemian Museum served the purposes of building noble prestige, creating a national historical myth, and educating the lower classes of society, while also isolating those "experts" at the top.¹ The growth of Czech culture sprang from the fountains of noble wealth.

Also, Joseph II began a program of compulsory secondary education. In order for the Empire to have German-speaking administrators and also in order for the subjects of the Empire to be able to interact with the Empire's government, instruction in the schools was in German. These reforms created many unintended consequences. By allowing all

¹ Arno Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

subjects the opportunity to attend school, many people with humble origins became the great leaders of the national revival; Palacký was the son of a village schoolmaster, Smetana the son of a brewer, Masaryk the son of a Slovak peasant. Without an expanded education system, to these men, and many like them, upward mobility was almost impossible. The leaders of the Czech revival were not members of the nobility, but many, especially Palacký, received patronage from the upper classes.

The first task of the rising nationalists was to create a popular sense of distinct Czech culture. Czech, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was not a literary language. The father of modern Czech language was Josef Dobrovský, a Jesuit priest. Taking the speech of Bohemian peasants, he published, in 1782, the first systematic history and grammar of the Czech language. Dobrovský elevated the Czech language to the circles of the elites (who spoke German).² Charles University in Prague first established a chair in Czech language in 1791, seeing a need for instruction in and about the language.

One of the first cultural institutions created to further the national cause was the Bohemian Museum. The museum, the brainchild of Count Kaspar Maria von Sternberg, made Czech history accessible to the masses. As a further attempt to spread the efforts of the Museum, Count Sternberg hired Palacký to supervise the work of the museum and to edit the *Časopis národního muzea* [Journal of the National Museum], first published in 1827. This became the first Czech-language academic journal in Bohemia.

² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983), 73.

Between the Journal and his later publication of an exhaustive study in Czech history, his *Dejiny Národu Českého v Čechách a v Moravě* [*History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia*] served to give Czechs their history, especially a history of the Hussite Revolution, something that Habsburg officials had long suppressed (Palacký's original work was censored until the 1872 edition). Palacký's work is still considered one of the best works in the historiography of the Czech nation to the beginning of the Habsburg dynasty's reign on the Bohemian throne in 1526.

Another cultural institution that became important for Czech nationalism was the National Theater. Benedict Anderson, in his discussion of the emergence of national literature, explains that "the same epoch saw the vernacularization of of another form of printed page: the score."³ After the construction of the National Museum, many of the same elites and nobles in Prague sought to build a National Theater to further Czech culture and make it accessible to the masses. Czech musicians, especially Antonín Dvořák, Leoš Janáček, and Bedřich Smetana, mixed traditional music with their compositions. Like Richard Wagner for the Germans, Smetana created pieces that reflected Czech legends, furthering the claims that Czech language and culture were as ancient as any other in Europe.

Perhaps the most important cultural institution was the Charles University in Prague. Founded in 1347 by Holy Roman Emperor and King of Bohemia Charles IV, Charles University was the first university in the Holy Roman Empire and the first in continental Europe north of the Alps. Conflict soon overtook the university with the

³ Ibid., 75.

emergence of Jan Hus. Through Hus' influence, Bohemians gained control of the university in 1409 and elected Hus as rector. After the Battle of White Mountain, the monarchy handed over control of the university to the Jesuits who suppressed Hussitism. The language of lectures changed from Latin to German with Joseph II's language reforms of 1784. The university remained under tight control of the Habsburgs until the Revolutions of 1848 when the monarchy made concessions about the university in an attempt to keep Bohemia loyal. Czech language lectures began in 1793 and increased in popularity through the nineteenth century until the 1882 when the growing need for a separate Czech and German university resulted in a split into two universities that shared many facilities.

In 1882, a newly qualified professor, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk received an invitation to teach at the newly established Czech university. Masaryk, seeking to stimulate the academic life of Prague, established a Czech language academic journal *Athenaeum*. This journal, with Masaryk as editor, became the center of a great controversy over supposed ancient manuscripts that many Czech nationalists, among them Palacký, used to further their claims of an ancient literary tradition for the Czech language. Masaryk published an article by one of his colleagues at the university that proved the manuscripts were forgeries. A firestorm erupted. Masaryk quickly became one of the most reviled men in Bohemia, but also one of the most respected.

Masaryk also published a series of articles about the meaning of Czech history and the nation's place in Europe. Again he became the center of controversy, this time because of the response from the head of the history faculty at the university, Josef Pekař.

The ensuing debate consumed the bulk of twenty years, with both criticizing the other's methods and motivations. This debate illustrates the conflicts that existed in Bohemia and later Czechoslovakia over the very essence of the Czech nation.

Nationalism in Bohemia created many questions about what it meant to be Czech. What distinctive features made the nation? The most common answer was language, however, as Gary Cohen and Jeremy King demonstrated in their histories of Prague and České Budějovice/Budweis that ethnicity was quite dynamic and had little to do with language, until the 1880s when language became political with the advent of language questions on official censuses.⁴ Masaryk attempted to define Czechs in terms of history and literature. His claims of equality resonated with Czechs, leading to his entry into politics.

At the outbreak of World War I, Masaryk fled the country. While in exile, he agitated for the independence of Czechoslovakia, a union based on the Czech and Slovak nations which had not been joined since the Great Moravian Empire, which was granted at the conclusion of the war by the victorious Allied Powers. Czechoslovakia became a modern multinational state, with significant minority nationalities. These competing nationalities, especially Czechs and Germans directly lead to Czechoslovakia's involvement and occupation by Nazi Germany during World War II, shortly after Masaryk's death in 1937.

⁴ see Gary Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861-1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) and Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

The conflict between Czechs and Germans in Czechoslovakia was not finally resolved until the conclusion of World War II when the Allies, at the Potsdam Conference, supported a measure proposed by Masaryk's successor, Edvard Beneš, that allowed the expulsion of Germans from the country. By 1948, most ethnic Germans were either forced out of the country or adopted Czech language. The Beneš Decrees, as the laws that expelled the Germans are called, finally created a bordered land in Czechoslovakia that separated ethnic Germans from Czechs.

CHAPTER 2

THE HUSSITE REVOLUTION: THE REALITIES

During the Czech national revival, nationalist leaders like František Palacký and Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk drew inspiration from the Bohemian experience during the years of the Hussite Wars as an example of Czech independence from German influence. Both Palacký and Masaryk, as Protestants themselves, viewed the anti-Catholic Hussites as an expression of freedom from oppression by historical Czech speakers. History informed the leaders of the Czech national revival, however, many of their claims were colored by their experiences stemming from the alliance of the Catholic Church and the Habsburg Empire, and the initiation of the Counter-Reformation, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nationalist leaders, especially those professing Protestant beliefs like Masaryk and Palacký, viewed union of church and state in the Habsburg Empire as inherently problematic and especially anti-democratic. They further viewed the Bohemian aristocracy with suspicion, as those remaining after the purges following the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 were strong supporters of the Habsburg monarchy.

In order to understand the distortions of the historical debate between the Czech nationalists and the pro-monarchist camp, an understanding of the realities of the Hussite period is important. As both camps drew extensively on the theme of the Hussite Revolution to further their contemporary political aims, knowing what facts are retained, distorted or ignored shows much of the thought process of people such as Tomáš Masaryk, František Palacký and Josef Pekař.

On July 6, 1415, despite guarantees of safety from the Holy Roman Emperor, and brother of King Wenceslas IV of Bohemia, Sigismund of Luxembourg, the Bohemian church reformer Jan Hus was burned at the stake as a heretic at the Council of Constance. Hus' followers in Prague rose in open rebellion against the Emperor. At the Old Town Hall in Prague, a group of Hussites lead by Jan Žižka threw representatives of the Emperor out of the upper windows of the building to their deaths at the hands of the mob assembled in the square. This act started the Hussite Wars.

Hussitism did not develop in a vacuum. The politics of the Church and Holy Roman Empire played significant roles in the development of Hussite theology. The Church at the time of Hus was embroiled in the Western Schism, a time when the Church was in tremendous turmoil. The papacy moved from Avignon back to Rome in 1376, thus attempting to end a period of pronounced corruption in the church bureaucracy. With the death of Pope Gregory XI two years later, the citizens of Rome rioted, demanding that the cardinals elect a Roman as the new pope. When the conclave found no suitable Roman candidate, they elected a Neapolitan, Urban VI.

The personality of Urban VI was so volatile that the cardinals soon regretted their decision. The cardinals fled Rome and elected a rival pope, Clement VII, who reestablished the papal court in Avignon. Pope Boniface IX succeeded Urban VI in Rome in 1389 and Pope Benedict XIII succeeded in Avignon in 1394, continuing the split between rival claimants to the papal throne. When Boniface IX died, cardinals from the Roman conclave offered to refrain from electing a new pope if Benedict would resign but

representatives of Benedict refused. In response, Innocent VII became pope in Rome and the schism continued with Gregory XII's election in 1407.

While the upheaval created inside the Church by two popes was severe, the reaction by secular leaders throughout Europe only served to exacerbate the problems. The realities of European power politics at the time meant that the secular leaders sought every advantage over papal power they could get. Rulers throughout Europe realized that by supporting one pope over the other, they could play one camp against the other. France, which had long enjoyed great influence over the papal court at Avignon, continued to support the papal claimant in Avignon; the Holy Roman Empire and others in Europe, long suspicious of French involvement in papal affairs, supported the Roman claimant.

Amid the controversy over the papacy, the Englishman John Wycliffe first came to prominence. In 1365 during a dispute between the King of England Pope Urban V, the pope demanded that King Edward III pay a tribute that dated from the reign of King John over a century earlier, a duty long neglected by the English Crown. Parliament, advised by Wycliffe, threatened that if the pope came to press his claims with arms, he would be met with national resistance. The English viewed the Avignon papacy as being under French domination. Since France and England, at the time of Wycliffe, were engaged in the Hundred Years' War, the insistence by parliament that the pope could not enforce his tax on the Crown is easily understood. Wycliffe's influence in this decision demonstrates one of his tenants--that secular authority should remain separate from religious authority.

Wycliffe pursued his theology without fear of reprisal from Church authorities as he enjoyed the favor and protection of Prince John of Gaunt (*de facto* ruler of England while his father Edward III and brother Edward of Woodstock, the Black Prince were fighting in France) who believed that Wycliffe's teachings could further his political ambitions and offered an opportunity to enrich the Crown at the expense of the Church. Wycliffe alienated church authorities by declaring that the doctrine of transubstantiation (the belief that the wine and wafer literally transform into the body and blood of Christ during the Eucharist) was not in accordance with the Bible. Wycliffe further enraged church officials when he demanded that the priest should be without mortal sin when celebrating the mass and the church should not strive for material property. Perhaps the most shocking reform that Wycliffe suggested was that everyone should understand the Bible and the mass, and to facilitate that belief, the Bible and liturgy should be translated into the vernacular languages of the people.

Wycliffe's ideas spread to Bohemia and became especially popular at the University of Prague (Charles University after its founder Emperor Charles IV). A member of the theological faculty named Jan Hus began to expand on Wycliffe's thoughts. In 1402, Hus received his ordination as a priest and an assignment to the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague. As a pastoral priest, he preached against the excesses of the clergy and gained a wide following by preaching in the vernacular Czech language. As well as his appointment as a parish priest, Hus was also a master at the university in the theological faculty. At the university, Hus first was exposed to the teaching of Wycliffe.

The government of the University of Prague from its founding consisted of four representative nations. The Bohemian nation consisted of Bohemians, Moravians, southern Slavs, and Hungarians; the Bavarian consisted of Austrians, Swabians, natives of Franconia and of the Rhine provinces; the Polish included Silesians, Poles, Russians; the Saxon included inhabitants of the Margravate of Meissen, Thuringia, Upper and Lower Saxony, Denmark, and Sweden. Ethnically Czech (Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian) students were sixteen to twenty percent of all students.⁵ Each nation received a single vote in the government of the university which lead to conflict over the theology curriculum that took on national overtones.

In 1409, King Wenceslas [Václav] IV, son of Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, believing that Pope Gregory XII would not support his bid to become Holy Roman Emperor, decided to support a policy of strict neutrality towards both popes. Further, the king ordered church prelates in Bohemia and the administration of the university to adopt this same policy of neutrality. Only the Bohemian nation at the university, lead by Hus, supported the king's policy. At the urging of Hus, the king issued what is known as the Kutná Hora Directive (from the town where the king issued it). The Directive reorganized the government of the university giving the Bohemian nation three votes and all the other nations one collective vote, thus ensuring that the Bohemians controlled the university. In protest, the other nations left Prague and founded the University of

⁵ Václav Chyský, "Sedmdesátileté výročí insigniády z jiného pohledu [Seventieth Anniversary of the Insignia Episode from a Different Viewpoint]," *Nový Polygon* 6 (June 2004), 32.

Leipzig.⁶ The Directive and German-led protest against it demonstrates how bitter the national conflict at the university became.

Hus became rector of the university in 1409 as a result of the changes and began to teach the doctrines of Wycliffe. That same year, in an attempt to end the Western Schism, cardinals met at Pisa to elect a new pope. Failing to depose of the two rival popes, the Council of Pisa, instead further complicated matters by electing a third papal claimant.

King Wenceslas recognized the results of the Pisan Council and the election of Pope Alexander V hoping to gain favor with the new pope. The illiterate Archbishop of Prague, Zbyněk Zajíc of Hasenburg, followed the pope's instructions and demanded all writings of Wycliffe burned. As this occurred before movable type and the printing press arrived in Europe, the materials were expensive manuscript copies. Students mocked the archbishop and his lack of literacy, singing "Zbyněk Bishop burnt the books, without knowing what they are about."⁷ King Wenceslas, however took Hus' side and ordered the archbishop to replace the burned books. When the archbishop refused, the king stopped the archbishop's income and seized some property the archbishop controlled.

Empowered by a bull from Pope Alexander V, Archbishop Zajíc excommunicated Hus and placed an interdict (suspension of all public worship sacraments) over the Kingdom of Bohemia. Designed to prevent Hus from preaching, the king simply commanded that

⁶ Václav IV., *Dikret Kutnohorský*, 18 January 1409. Also see Michal Svatoš, "The Studium Generale," in *A History of Charles University*, eds. Karel Beránek and Ivana Čornejová, trans. Anna Bryson, (Prague: Charles University Press, 2001), 83.

⁷ Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 73.

the interdict be disobeyed allowing Hus to continue his work.⁸ The actions of the archbishop sparked riots in Prague. Fearing for his safety, the archbishop fled and died on his journey to Hungary in 1411.

Pope John XXIII succeeded Alexander V in 1411. Pope John XXIII preached a crusade against followers of Gregory XII. Hus, in response, delivered a sermon entitled *Quaestio magistri Johannis Hus de indulgentiis*. The sermon stated that no pope or bishop had the right to take up the sword in the name of the Church but that he should pray for his enemies and bless those that curse him and also that man obtains forgiveness of sins by true repentance, not money.⁹ While Hus' sermon was popular with the townspeople of Prague, church authorities were less than pleased

King Wenceslas, urged by the clergy, forced Hus to leave Prague and find shelter in Southern Bohemia. In 1413 while in exile, Hus wrote his most famous work, *De Ecclesia [The Church]*, that expounded most fully his theological beliefs. In the work, he expounds on his beliefs, stating that the Bible is the wellspring of all truth and that the Church is not the temporal organization of popes, bishops and priests, but the assembly of believers.¹⁰ In many ways Hus' views were similar to those of Wycliffe (who also produced a treatise by the same title), but *De Ecclesia* demonstrates many of Hus'

⁸ Ibid., 73-74.

⁹ Jan Hus, *Quaestio magistri Johannis Hus de indulgentiis*, trans. David Schaff (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915).

¹⁰ Jan Hus, *De Ecclesia*, trans. David Schaff (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915).

original thoughts. For example, he explicitly endorsed the doctrine of transubstantiation, a doctrine Wycliffe rejected.¹¹

By 1414, another attempt to end the papal schism emerged. Sigismund of Luxembourg, the Holy Roman Emperor and brother of King Wenceslas, called a council to assemble at Constance. The Council of Constance finally deposed all three rival popes, but waited to elect a new pope until other pressing matters were settled. First among these matters were Wycliffe's teachings. Wishing to further stamp out Wycliffism, the council summoned Hus to Constance. Hus was reluctant to go to Constance, but Emperor Sigismund reassured him with a guarantee of safe passage to and from Constance. On May 4, 1415, the Council of Constance condemned Wycliffe as a heretic and ordered his body exhumed and burned.

With the official condemnation of Wycliffe, the council turned to the matter of Hus. Hus declared himself willing to submit if the council could convince him of his errors. He desired only a fair trial and more time to explain the reasons for his views; if Bible texts did not suffice, he would be glad to be instructed. The council considered his declaration an unconditional surrender, and he was asked to confess the error of his ways and recant his teachings. Hus refused, asking that the council show him his errors charges by using scripture.

By 1414, a follower of Hus named Jakoubek of Střibro, administered the Eucharist in both kinds for the first time in Bohemia (in Latin *sub utraque specie*, meaning in both kinds gave rise to the term Utraquism to describe the doctrine), by

¹¹ For a full discussion of Lollard influence on Hussite thought, see William B. Cook, "John Wyclif and Hussite Theology 1415-1436," *Church History* 42, no. 3 (September 1973).

administering both the bread and wine to all who celebrated the Mass. At this time, only the priest received the wine. Howard Kaminsky notes:

From that time on, the chalice stood as the symbol of the whole movement, the object of most anti-Hussite polemical literature, and the critical point distinguishing all Hussites, quasi-Catholics as well as violent sectarians, from the orthodox communion of the rest of Europe. Finally, at the Council of Basel, Hussite articles that were intrinsically more important than the chalice--free preaching of the Word of God, secular domination over church property, the extirpation of public sins--proved so negotiable that they could be disposed of by massive Hussite concessions, while the issue of the chalice alone kept its intractable core, in the end preventing a Calixite reabsorption into the body of Catholicism. All of this seems paradoxical, but it can also be instructive. The historian cannot tell the objects of his solicitude that they were wrong: he must change his own mind and reform his thinking on the assumption that the lay chalice must have been fully as important as contemporaries thought it was. Not as quirk or an ornament, it must in fact have contained the essence of Hussitism.¹²

The doctrine, while not promulgated directly by Hus did gain his endorsement while he awaited trial in Constance.¹³

¹² Kaminsky, 98.

¹³ Petr z Mladenovice, *John Hus at the Council of Constance*, Matthew Spinka, trans. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965),

On June 6, 1415, The council condemned Hus and burned him at the stake as a heretic. News of his death, upon reaching Prague, sparked much unrest. Emperor Sigismund sent letters to Prague attempting to quell the unrest, but only added to the unrest as the townspeople of Prague viewed Sigismund as being complicit in the death of Hus because his guarantee of free passage did not stop the council from burning Hus. By 1419, the unrest finally came to a head. On 30 July 1419, when a Hussite procession headed by the priest Jan Želivský marched through the streets of Prague, anti-Hussites threw stones at the procession from the windows of the town-hall of the New Town of Prague. The Hussites, headed by Jan Žižka z Trocnova [John Zizka of Trocnov], already a grizzled veteran mercenary (the nickname Žižka means one-eyed which probably occurred as the result of a fight in his youth), threw the mayor and several town-councillors from the windows and into the street (the first "Defenestration of Prague"), where the assembled rabble killed them. King Wenceslas soon died, an event traditionally assigned to shock on hearing the news of the rebellion.¹⁴ The death of King Wenceslas without issue meant that Emperor Sigismund, as the king's brother and heir presumptive, inherited the throne of Bohemia.

Intent on stopping the Bohemian uprising, Sigismund raised an army consisting mostly of German and Hungarian soldiers to suppress the revolt.¹⁵ The Hussites, now facing an external enemy, united under the military leadership of Žižka. Žižka was a military genius who adapted the relative weaknesses of the Hussite forces into strengths.

¹⁴ Ibid., 296.

¹⁵ Frederick G. Heymann, *John Žižka and the Hussite Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 164.

The majority of Hussite forces were peasant farmers and urban day laborers, so Žižka adapted many familiar farm implements into weapons. The farmer's flail became a horrible weapon capable of defeating the shields of the era by simply wrapping around them. As the flail originated as a farm implement, training requirements were minimal for a peasant farmer already familiar with using a flail to thresh grain. Žižka was also a master at using terrain to his advantage.

The most innovative tactic that Žižka invented was the Wagenburg; heavy farm wagons would be parked and chained wheel to wheel and the defenders would shoot cannons and pistols (in Czech *houfnice*-from where the English howitzer comes from and *pišt'ala*-pistol) at the enemy cavalry was sufficiently disorganized, the Hussites would rush out of the circle of wagons and destroy the remaining enemy forces.¹⁶ The Wagenburg with mounted cannon was in effect a primitive tank, predating modern armored warfare by 500 years. Hussite forces under Žižka were some of the first in Europe to use gunpowder weapons.

The two main Hussite factions, the Tábórites and the Utraquists, had centers of power that demonstrated many of these class differences. Tábor, the Southern Bohemian stronghold of the Tábórites (from whence they get their name), was founded by peasant supporters of the Hussite cause. The eccesiology of the Tábórites shows just how unique the movement was during the fifteenth century. Not only did the Tábórites support utraquism, but they further believed the Eucharist should be administered to everyone, including infants. Tábórites believed that the elect of God (themselves) should gather in

¹⁶ For a full discussion of Hussite tactics, see Stephen R. Turnbull, *The Hussite Wars 1419-36* (Oxford: Osprey, 2004).

fortified cities (Tábor became the most important after the fall of Plzeň and Písek to forces of Emperor Sigismund in 1420) to await the return of Christ at the millennium (chiliasm) which the Táborites believed was near. Táborites further believed that all property should be held in common, nobody should have an excess, and that the church should not have any secular wealth.¹⁷

Táborite radicalism, especially the rejection of material wealth, attracted many peasants and lower-class urban day laborers. The New Town of Prague, which had a large concentration of lower class workers, was an early bastion of the Táborites, as well as Southern Bohemia, especially around the town of Sezimovo Ústí. Táborite puritanism and destruction of wealthy monasteries held little appeal to those who had material wealth and valued the cultural treasures of churches and monasteries. During the Siege of Prague, Táborites sacked and burned many monasteries inside the city.

The Utraquists, the more moderate of the two factions, had a center of power in the Old Town of Prague, especially at the university. The Utraquists generally consisted of the middle class of Prague and surrounding cities. As important as the urban support to the Utraquist cause, the support of the nobility was critical to the survival of Hussitism. The nobility in the Kingdom of Bohemia secured the right of appointment of the parish clergy in churches the nobles controlled as a result of their rebellion against King Wenceslas IV after his condemnation of John of Nepomuk in 1393. Pro-Hussite nobles, while not controlling all parishes in Prague, controlled enough parishes to allow Hussite preachers opportunities to gain an important foothold at the beginning of the Hussite

¹⁷ see Kaminsky's treatment of these doctrines in his chapter on Chiliasm and the Founding of Tábor. Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*.

Revolution and also helped to support the more conservative university-based Hussite faction.¹⁸

The Utraquist faction consisted mainly of the middle and upper classes of Prague and the nobility. Utraquist thought descended from the masters at the university and was much more conservative than the Tábórites. Where Tábórites believed in a strict application of clerical poverty especially the use of vestments while celebrating the mass, Utraquists believed that the use of vestments did not violate the idea of clerical poverty. In many ways, the Utraquist faction simply wished to retain most Catholic practices with the inclusion of utraquism.

With a foreign crusader army attacking, differences inside the Hussite camp evaporated due to the obvious need for unity. However, when not faced with an immediate outside threat, doctrinal and class differences dominated debate between the factions. With Sigismund's army camped outside the city attempting to encircle and cut off the town, the inhabitants of Prague called upon the army of Tábó, lead by Žižka to help defend the capital and the faith. Žižka decisively defeated the Emperor's army at the Vítkov Ridge (now named Žižkov ridge in honor of the battle) on July 14, 1420, which ensured that the crusader army could not encircle the city and cut off the Hussite's main supply line. While only a minor skirmish, the decisive defeat at Vítkov coupled with the destruction of the crusader's supply column and an outbreak of disease in the crusader's camp forced Sigismund to withdraw and disband his army.

¹⁸ John M. Klassen, *The Nobility and the Making of the Hussite Revolution* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly, 1978), 3.

The Hussite factions, after lifting the siege of Prague, met to decide what exactly they believed. In Prague, four articles, known as the Four Articles of Prague, gained approval by the majority of Hussite leaders, both Taborite and Utraquist in July 1420. The first article, that throughout the Kingdom of Bohemia the Word of God be proclaimed and preached freely by Christian priests, specifically targeted the celebration of the mass in the vernacular instead of Latin.¹⁹ Nationalist leaders of the nineteenth century interpreted this article as an expression of Czech nationalism as, to them, linguistics equalled national identification. Overall, this interpretation has some merit, but as all liturgy was in Latin and there were no native Latin speakers, the argument that a mass in the vernacular showed nationalism is reduced in value.

The demand for the mass in the vernacular, however, demonstrates the mistrust of the clerical caste by the other estates of society. Vernacular liturgy was less an issue of linguistic nationalism as an issue of a simple desire to understand something viewed as essential to one's eternal salvation. Also, as distrust of the clergy and general anticlericalism were common themes in Europe at this time, demands for the Bible and mass in the vernacular show a desire for understanding by people who did not have the means to learn Latin and demonstrates the mistrust the common people had for the clergy.

The second article, that the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of God, in both kinds, bread and wine, be given freely to all true Christians who are not barred from it by deadly sin, became the symbol of Hussitism.²⁰ As Kaminsky noted, the emphasis on

¹⁹ As quoted in Heymann, 149.

²⁰ Ibid., 150.

utraquism seems to modern eyes disproportionate to the overall importance of the doctrine compared to other innovations of the Hussite movement.²¹ The Chalice gained wide appeal because of its simplicity, an illiterate peasant understood the doctrine of utraquism while other doctrines, being more complex, were not as simple.

The third and fourth articles were compromises between the Utraquists and Táborites. The third article demanded that the clergy have no secular power, especially over criminal punishments. This sentiment showed a desire to separate church and state, which arose in reaction to Emperor Sigismund's control over the Church stemming from the Council of Constance as it was the emperor who called the council, not a church prelate. The fourth article called for punishment for mortal sins, and also, more importantly requested that "evil and slanderous rumors about this country be cleansed away, thus insuring the general welfare of the Bohemian Kingdom and Nation."²² This clause is the basis for claims of Hussite nationalism by Czech nationalists in efforts to justify their own rhetoric. While Hussitism did not spread into neighboring territories, the concept of nation as understood by people of the nineteenth century and later is different than the concept of nation understood by those of the fifteenth century.

With the Articles of Prague the basis of peace between the factions, the revolt against Sigismund continued. One of the last efforts of combined armies of Prague and Tábor occurred at Německý Brod (Deutschbrod or German Ford) on January 6, 1422 against yet another crusader army, this time largely Hungarian instead of German, lead by

²¹ See quote from Kaminsky, *The Hussite Revolution*, above.

²² Heymann, 155.

the emperor. By this time, Žižka lost sight in his remaining eye and was completely blind but continued to lead the Hussite army. During this campaign, Sigismund lost over 12,000 men and with the capture of the town of Německý Brod and over 500 supply wagons belonging to the crusading army. Sigismund himself barely escaped alive.

With the defeat of the common enemy, the entire movement descended into civil war. In Prague, because of his radicalism, Jan Želivský was arrested and executed. Further antagonism came when the Prague faction together with moderate Táborites and the Hussite nobility recognized Sigismund Korybut of Lithuania as king. While the Utraquists recognized Korybut, Tábor demanded a native Czech prince. Korybut then returned to Lithuania. The gulf between Prague and Tábor, already wide, ruptured. Long-standing antagonism between the factions over the role of the clergy and other doctrinal issues finally erupted into more than mere words.

The Táborite army, still lead by Žižka, met the army of the Utraquists at Hořice. Seizing the high ground, the Táborites quickly established a Wagenburg. As the hill was too steep for horses, the Utraquist army was forced to dismount their heavy cavalry and fight on foot. The battle was ferocious but Žižka won the day after he turned the Táborite cavalry loose on the disorganized Utraquists.

By 1424, the Hussite parties finally settled their differences and ended the civil war. The influence of Jan z Rokycana (John of Rokycan) helped to settle the strife between the rival factions. Rokycana played a major role in the Hussite movement after this incident eventually becoming the Archbishop of Prague.

Jan Žižka died of the plague on October 11, 1424. When news of Žižka's death reached Emperor Sigismund, he immediately launched a new crusade, believing that without their great general, he could easily crush the Hussites. Under command of Prokop the Great and with a returned Sigismund Korybut, Hussite forces gained a decisive victory at Ústí nad Labem (Aussig an der Elbe) in Northern Bohemia again routing a largely Saxon German crusading army. Sigismund's German allies now began to desert the emperor.

Unfortunately much of the English-language historiography of the Hussite Revolution ends in 1424 with the death of Žižka, which was certainly not the end of the Hussite period, nor even the height of Hussite triumphs. While Hussite success would never have been possible without Žižka, as later Hussite commanders benefitted from the training and discipline that Žižka instilled in his army and continued to use his tactics. Without proper discipline, the Wagenburg tactics were useless as was demonstrated at the Battle of Tachov in 1427 when an army of crusaders attempted to create a Wagenburg and failed and were forced to concede the field amid massive casualties.

By 1431, exhausted from over a decade of constant war, both sides met at the church council held in Basel that year. After three years of debate and finally a compromise proposed by John of Rokycana, the Church reconciled with the Utraquists by granting the privilege of the chalice to the laity of Bohemia. Rokycana became archbishop of Prague. Bartoš argues that the Church took this position in order to drive a wedge between the various Hussite factions and to cause a possible civil war between the

factions and thus divide them.²³ As later events showed, the Church was not dealing in good faith and never had any intention to honor the agreement longer than what was necessary to secure ultimate victory over all Hussite factions.

With the agreement between the Catholics and the Utraquists known as the Compact of Basel in place, the Utraquists again took the field against the Táborites at Lipany. This time, with royalist reinforcements for the Utraquists and without the leadership of Žižka for the Táborites, the outcome finally favored the Utraquists. After Lipany, all remaining factions accepted the Compact of Basel and Emperor Sigismund as King of Bohemia. Sigismund commented that only other Bohemians could overcome the Bohemians. Sigismund's victory was short lived as he died two years later in 1438.

As Sigismund only had one surviving child, a daughter married to Albert II von Habsburg, the Bohemian crown passed to his son-in-law on Sigismund's death. Albert II was the first Habsburg to sit on the Bohemian throne; however, his reign was also short as he died one year later. Albert's son Ladislav (the Posthumous because he was born after his father's death) became king. As the new king was an infant, Jirí z Poděbrad (George of Poděbrady) acted as regent over Bohemia. Ladislav, assumed the throne at the age of thirteen. Ladislav died suddenly at the age of seventeen while preparing for his marriage to the daughter of King Charles VII of France as the last heir of the Luxembourg dynasty. Many suspected George of Poděbrady poisoned the young king in

²³ F. M. Bartoš, *The Hussite Revolution, 1424-1437*, trans. John Klassen (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1986), 112.

order to force an election for the Bohemian throne, however, in 1984, Czech doctors proved that Ladislav died of acute leukemia, not poisoning.²⁴

Without a legitimate heir to the throne, the Bohemian estates elected George of Poděbrady as king. George was the first and only Hussite king. Czech nationalists in later centuries pointed to the election of George as the high point of the Hussite movement since a native Czech became king and leader of a generally free Czech church that practiced utraquism. According to Masaryk, the election of George of Poděbrady by all the estates of Bohemia showed that Czechs were the first nation in Europe to allow for a form of universal suffrage.²⁵

The agreement between the Utraquist communion and the Catholic Church lasted until the Church regained enough power to force an engagement with the Hussites of Bohemia. Pope Pius II declared the Compacts void in 1462. New hope for George came with the death of Pius II, but the newly elected Pope Paul II proved even more inflexible to the Hussites and excommunicated George in 1466. The pope declared George deposed and released all subjects of the Bohemian crown from their oath of allegiance to George. Pope Paul further encouraged all of the neighboring magnates to invade Bohemia, with the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus successfully conquering Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia. The Catholic party of Bohemian nobles crowned Matthias king of Bohemia in Olomouc. George, in an attempt to maintain some power, came to an agreement with Matthias to share the title King of Bohemia in 1470, but before Matthias could

²⁴ Jiri Ferda, et al., “111 Years of Radiology in the Heart of Europe: Czech Radiology, 1896-2007,” *American Journal of Roentgenology* 109, no. 6 (June 2008): 1464.

²⁵ T. G. Masaryk, *Slované ve světě [Slavs in the world]*, lecture delivered at Sorbonne University, Paris, France, 26 Feb. 1916.

consolidate power George died on March 22, 1471. George was the last native Czech to rule as King of Bohemia. By 1529, after a string of dynastic squabbles over the Bohemian crown, the Habsburg dynasty inherited Bohemia.

The Habsburgs were both extremely Catholic (but powerless for a century to finally eradicate Hussite power) and German. Thus began the period of Habsburg domination over the Lands of the Bohemian Crown that finally ended with Czechoslovak independence in 1918. Bohemia, once the greatest power of Central Europe became a province in the ever-expanding Habsburg empire.

CHAPTER 3

FORGING A NATION: CREATING A DISTINCT CULTURE

During the nineteenth century, Czech elites fostered the growth of a distinct Czech culture. The long history of the peoples that became the modern Czechs began during the large-scale migrations into Europe some time around the sixth century. Slavic tribes began to settle in the area of the present-day Czech Republic and replaced the resident Germanic tribes. Contact between the Slavic and Germanic tribes began the cultural competition between Czechs and Germans that culminated in the expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia in 1948. The Slavic word for a German is *Němec*, from the root *němý*, mute, while Slavs are *Slověne* from the root *slovo*, word; the meaning of these differences is that Slavs were people of words, while Germans were mutes.

By the nineteenth century, both Czech and German nationalists attempted to promote the interests of their respective nationalities, often at the expense of the other nationalities of the Habsburg Empire. In Bohemia (and to a lesser extent the other predominantly Czech-speaking lands of Moravia and Silesia), the cultural conflict between Czechs and Germans became, by the end of the nineteenth century, severe. Conflicts over language, education, government, religion and control of resources became contentious and caused many citizens who did not subscribe to either ethnic identity to choose a side in the conflict.²⁶

²⁶see King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans* and Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival*.

Language

Fundamental to the nationalists' arguments was the question of what exactly made a person a Czech or German. The most common answer in the nineteenth century revolved around spoken language; someone who spoke Czech was a Czech, a German speaker was a German. This linguistic definition was one of the most conspicuous aspects of culture, but many in Bohemia were bilingual. In official censuses of the Habsburg lands, starting in 1881, the central government attempted to identify the spoken language (for the purposes of providing adequate public education in a student's native language) of citizens. The census surveys asked individuals to self-identify what language was their language of every day use. This census became a political tool of the nationalists, who encouraged those who identified themselves as Czech to list Czech as their preferred language, even if they used predominantly German in their daily affairs.

Bilingualism predominated in the cities of Bohemia and Moravia. As an example, the great German-language writer, Franz Kafka was fluent in Czech. To Czechs, Kafka was German, but to Germans, he was above all Jewish, a group that was not welcome in either camp. Kafka's language, however, is just one famous example of the hybrid culture of the Czech lands. Tomáš Masaryk is another example; Masaryk's mother was linguistically German, his father was Slovak, but Czech was the language of the household, thus making Masaryk a Czech.²⁷ Bilingualism complicated the question of nationality because it blurred the distinction between nationalities.

²⁷ Karel Čapek, *Talks with T. G. Masaryk*, trans. Michael Henry Heim (North Haven, Conn.: Catbird Press, 1995), 13.

Language became the biggest factor and point of contention between nationalist forces; however, language is not the only aspect of culture. The linguistic divide between the Slavic Czechs and the Germans reinforced the existing divide between the two different tribal lineages. Both tribal groups worshipped different gods before the introduction of Christianity in the eighth century, thus prompting different legends. By the time of the conflicts over culture in the nineteenth century, these different legends became another weapon in the cultural war.

One aspect of culture that nationalists promoted was a traditional form of government. For Czechs, the legendary foundation of Slavic Bohemia, as well as the later practice of all estates of the nation electing the king (which the Habsburgs suppressed), became a symbol of their nation. According to the legend, Praotec Čech [Great-Grandfather Czech] and his two brothers Lech and Rus led their tribes west from the Slavic ancestral lands (presumed to be the steppes of Central Asia). When Rus arrived at the Dnieper River (in modern Ukraine), he decided to settle his tribe there and they became the Russians. Lech and Čech continued west, but split with Lech heading to the north where his tribe settled in Poland (Lechia). Čech arrived in Bohemia and when he arrived, a prophetess took him to the top of Říp Mountain and promised all the land that he could see to his posterity for eternity. Čech settled his tribe and they became the Czechs. The theme of Czech mythology, like German mythology, became the inspiration for many nationalist works of art and music.

The Přemyslid dynasty, as the only native Czech rulers of Bohemia, became another theme that the nationalists used to further their aims of independence from

Austria. The legendary foundation of the dynasty straddles the line between myth and reality, giving the story a plausibility that helps the legend to endure. The great leader, Krok, son of Praotec Čech, had no sons to inherit the kingdom. His oldest daughter, Libuše, on Krok's death became queen; however, the men of the tribe refused to submit to the rule of a woman. Libuše married a peasant named Přemysl (the Ploughman) who ruled Bohemia and founded the Přemyslid dynasty that ruled Bohemia until 1308 (in the direct male line, the female line continued until 1918 with the fall of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine).

The House of Přemysl saw the introduction of Christianity to Bohemia with the baptism of Bořivoj I in 883. His son Václav I [Wenceslas], a Christian, became ruler of Bohemia. Václav became the victim of a plot lead by his brother Boleslav (the Cruel) and died at the hands of assassins while on his way to Church. Václav was canonized by the Catholic Church and is one of the patron saints of Bohemia.

With the death of King Wenceslas III without a male heir in 1310, the House of Přemysl became extinct in the male line. The sister of Wenceslas III, Elisabeth of Bohemia, married John, Count of Luxembourg, and son of Holy Roman Emperor Henry VII, who inherited the throne of Bohemia on his brother-in-law's death. King John lost his sight in 1336 thus earning his nickname of John the Blind. Despite being blind, John allied with the French King Philip VI in the Hundred Years' War against the English. At the Battle of Crécy in 1346, John desired to take an active part in the battle and had two of his knights lashed to his arms so that he could strike a blow with his sword. John was killed in the battle. When Edward of Woodstock, the Black Prince of England,

discovered his body, still lashed to his knights, he was so impressed with John's bravery that he took King John's shield with the crest of three white ostrich feathers and the motto *Ich Dien* (I Serve) as his own, which is still seen in the crest of the Prince of Wales.

With the death of King John, his son Charles (a Přemyslid by right of his mother) ascended to the throne. Charles was also elected Holy Roman Emperor. The reign of Charles IV was a golden age for the Kingdom of Bohemia. Charles transformed Prague into a suitable capital for the empire. He also encouraged the veneration of St. Wenceslas, especially with the start of construction of the gothic St. Vitus' Cathedral inside Prague Castle. Employing the master Czech architect Peter Parler, Charles wanted St. Vitus' Cathedral to be a grand house for the relics of St. Wenceslas in a specially constructed chapel. The chapel to this day still contains the relics and crown jewels of Bohemia, most notably the Crown of St. Wenceslas. The Crown of St. Wenceslas is surrounded by a legendary curse. Whoever wears the crown and is not the true ruler of Bohemia will die within a year of placing the crown on their head. In 1941, Nazi *Reichsprotektor* Reinhardt Heydrich, on assuming control of Prague Castle, placed the crown on his own head. Within a year he was assassinated.

Charles IV gained unprecedented power as King of Bohemia. One of the hallmarks of Charles' reign was an increase in trade brought on by his efforts to make travel in the kingdom safer. Many of the nobility resented Charles' efforts as they made a significant income from tolls (many amounting to extortion) for travelers on their roads.²⁸ He was also a great patron of the arts and education. In 1347, he founded the first

²⁸ Klassen, 35.

university in the Holy Roman Empire, Charles University of Prague. The struggle for control of this university mirrors the struggle for control over Bohemia and became a symbol for the interests of both Czechs and Germans. Charles IV represented the height of royal power over the nobility of Bohemia.

The House of Luxembourg continued on the death of Charles IV with the elevation of his son Wenceslas IV. Wenceslas and his half-brother Sigismund presided over the turmoil of the Hussite Wars. With the death of Sigismund, his son-in-law Albert II von Habsburg, became King of Bohemia by right of his wife Elizabeth of Bohemia (who could trace her ancestry to the Přemyslid dynasty) because she herself was prohibited from rule by the traditional Salic Law. On the death of Albert's son Ladislav the Posthumous in 1457, the Bohemian estates elected George of Poděbrady [Jiří z Poděbrad] king. The election of George was unique because all three estates (clergy, nobles and commoners) had a vote. George also represented a triumph for the Hussite movement as he was a Hussite and defended Bohemia's native confession.

Religion

The Utraquist Hussite movement grew into the Church of the Bohemian Brothers or, more commonly in the United States, the Moravian Church. The Brethren thrived during the reign of George of Poděbrady, being the state church. The growth of the Brethren Church made Bohemia one of the first Protestant lands in Europe. With the rise of Martin Luther, the Brethren adopted Protestant beliefs as outlined by the Augsburg

Confession of 1530.²⁹ In effect, Bohemia became predominantly Lutheran, but with a Catholic monarch. Depending on the power of the monarch, this in turn led to either concessions or repressions of religious tolerance by the monarch.

This elected monarchy continued with Vladislav II in 1471. George's wife proposed Vladislav II's candidature, which ensured that Vladislav gained enough votes to be elected. Vladislav, owing his election to the monarchy to the Hussite nobility, tolerated religious differences. On Vladislav's death in 1516, his ten year old son Louis II inherited the throne. King Louis II of Bohemia and Hungary died at the Battle of Mohacs in 1526, a short reign of only ten years as a child-king with little real power. The Habsburg dynasty became kings of Bohemia through the marriage of Ferdinand I with Louis' sister Anna, the only other surviving child of Vladislav II.

As staunch Catholics, the Habsburgs struggled against the powerful Protestant Bohemian nobility for control over the kingdom. While other matters in the diverse Habsburg lands (by this time including the hereditary lands in Austria, the office of Holy Roman Emperor, the Kingdom of Bohemia, and Spain, including the newly conquered lands in the Americas) occupied by Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, Bohemia declined in importance in relation to the other lands of the dynasty. Bohemia became a mere province in the vast Habsburg lands. The decline of Bohemia in importance relegated Prague to the status of a provincial capital.

²⁹ Winfried Eberhardt, "Reformation and Counterreformation in East Central Europe," in *Handbook of European History 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, vol. II, Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 561.

With the ascension of Rudolf II, the Imperial Court moved to Prague and Bohemia's fortunes changed. Rudolf II was a great patron of the arts and science and placed little stock in Catholic doctrine. The Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe took up residence in 1597 as the official imperial astronomer among other notables at the court. Rudolf's court brought a flourishing of the culture of Prague. Prague again assumed the importance of the imperial capital and with the increased importance, saw an increase in trade and wealth. One hallmark of Rudolf's reign was the Letter of Majesty of 1609. The continuing wars with the Turks, and the attendant requirement for troops and money, significantly weakened imperial power in relation to the power of the nobility. The largely Protestant Bohemian nobility demanded guarantees of religious freedom in return for their assistance.

Rudolf's guarantee of religion freedom survived into the reign of his brother Matthias. Matthias, due to religious strife elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire, attempted to reign in Protestantism, but widespread revolt throughout the Habsburg lands, especially in Hungary, rendered him powerless to crack down effectively on Protestantism in Bohemia.

Matthias' nephew Ferdinand II gained the throne in 1619. Ferdinand II, unlike Rudolf II, was a staunch Catholic. A protest against Catholic ownership of land in Bohemia, resulted in Ferdinand sending representatives to meet with an assembly of Protestant nobles at Prague Castle. The nobles, unable to reach an agreement with the king's delegation, threw them from a window of the castle (the representatives survived

the fall by landing in a pile of manure). That winter, the Bohemian estates elected a new Protestant king, Frederick of the Palatinate.

The election of Frederick sparked a general rebellion in Bohemia. Ferdinand invaded in 1620, and crushed Frederick's army at the Battle of White Mountain outside of Prague. The overwhelming victory allowed Ferdinand II to eliminate the majority of the Bohemian nobility (twenty-seven were executed on Old Town Square in Prague, most of the remainder fled) and to force Catholic re-conversion on the residents of Bohemia (Moravia had mostly remained Catholic). The Battle of White Mountain was one of the first battles of the Thirty Years War. By the end of the war, most of Europe lay in ruins. While a small Bohemian Protestant church remained (the Czech Brothers Church), the majority of the country reconverted to Catholicism.

After the Protestant defeat at White Mountain, the Habsburgs initiated a counter-reformation to finally root out all latent Protestant influence in Bohemia. Ferdinand II invited the newly formed Jesuit order into Bohemia to help reconvert the Bohemians to Catholicism and thus make the Bohemia lands again loyal to the dynasty and the Church. Granting control over Charles University to the Jesuits in 1622, Ferdinand began a long period of German domination of the university. While the Jesuits maintained imperial favor for only three decades, Czech-language instruction at the university ceased completely until 1781 when a chair of Czech language and literature was established.³⁰ Protestantism in Bohemia never recovered.

³⁰ Ivana Čornejová, "The Administrative and Institutional Development of Prague University (1622-1802), in *A History of Charles University*, eds. Karel Beránek and Ivana Čornejová, trans. Anna Bryson (Prague: Charles University Press, 2001), 265. Full lectures in Czech only began in 1848.

With the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713 that allowed Maria Theresa to assume the imperial throne, relations between the monarchy and the nobility again shifted. Maria Theresa, like Louis XIV of France, was an absolutist. Due to the War of Austrian Succession with Prussia, Bohemia, as the scene of the bulk of fighting, was devastated. Imperial power, by the end of the war, was at the height of the absolutist era.

One of the first, and most contentious, attempts to standardize the administration of the empire was adoption of the German language, the native language of the Habsburg dynasty, as the administrative language of the empire. Emperor Joseph II, son of Maria Theresa, was a proponent of enlightened absolutism in the eighteenth century, continuing the practices of his mother. Among his many reforms, Joseph II changed the official language of the Empire to German instead of Latin. He also freed the serfs (a reform that did not survive past his death) and in 1781 declared freedom of worship. He wished to create a centralized government based on principals of the Enlightenment. Imperial power grew at the expense of the nobility, which caused the nobility to gradually shift from agricultural, serf labor based wealth to investments in industry. This shift to industry by the nobility, in turn, led to greater wealth. In large extent, the middle class in Bohemia did not develop like in other parts of Europe as the nobility managed to limit the upward mobility of the lower classes. He also promoted compulsory education. In 1784, he changed the language of instruction in the schools from Latin to German, a much needed reform. This change would have broad repercussions later in non-German parts of the Empire. Compulsory education promoted improvements throughout society. One

of the first fruits of mandatory compulsory education was František Palacký, the son of a schoolmaster.

The Rise of František Palacký

Count Kašpar Maria Šternberg was a noted botanist (considered the father of modern paleobotany) and with other members of the nobility, founded the Bohemian National Museum in 1818. Count Šternberg noticed Palacký, an up and coming historian at the university, and enticed him to supervise the work of the museum and to establish the first Czech-language academic journal *Časopis národního muzea* [Journal of the National Museum] in 1827. The journal served as the sole vehicle for publication of Czech language scholarship until the establishment of T. G. Masaryk's journal *Atheneum* in 1884. Publication of the Journal of the National Museum continues to today and it is still one of the most important Czech language academic journals. In 1829, the Bohemian estates named him as official historiographer of Bohemia.

In his most famous work, his five volume History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia, Palacký stopped his narrative in 1526, the year that the Habsburg dynasty inherited the Crown of St. Wenceslas. An apocryphal anecdote says that when asked why he stopped at that date, Palacký replied that to continue he would have to lie. Palacký viewed the ascension of the Habsburg dynasty as the enslavement of the Czech nation.

The Bohemian Museum served a number of purposes for nationalist Czechs.

Most importantly, it served as a symbol of the struggle for control over the nation's history and culture. By placing the grand Neo-Baroque museum building at the top of Wenceslas Square [Václavské náměstí], the most important public space in Prague, the benefactors (Bohemian nobles led Count Šternberg), attempted to show that Czech history was the most important national history of Bohemia. The building itself served to show that the Czechs viewed their national history to be beautiful and important. The struggle for important public space in the Czech lands, especially in Prague, demonstrates the importance placed on control of geography.

The first treasures of the museum were the manuscripts of Dvůr Králové and Zelená Hora.³¹ Discovered in 1817, museum officials believed the manuscripts dated from the end of the thirteenth century. The manuscripts consist of a series of epic poems and songs in an early form of the Czech language. The Czech nationalists, led by Palacký, used the manuscripts as a weapon in the struggle for Czech linguistic equality with German, arguing that the language of the manuscripts proved that the written Czech language was as old as the written German language. The authenticity of the manuscripts, however, was fiercely debated through the nineteenth century.

Palacký continued his work at the museum and also began his epic five volume History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia. Palacký took great care not to offend Catholic or Imperial sensibilities to avoid official censorship of his work, but still the censors forced major changes in his work. Consuming most of Palacký's efforts

³¹ Both are named after the towns where they were discovered.

through the 1830s, this work is still one of the monumental works of Czech historiography and is widely held as the seminal work of the historiography of Bohemia.

Palacký's rise to practical politics began in 1848. That year, revolutions swept Europe. As part of the surge in democratic feelings throughout Europe, the first freely elected parliament in the lands of the former Holy Roman Empire met in Frankfurt. Despite efforts to get more participation in the Habsburg lands, only a few representatives from any Habsburg dominion actually arrived in Frankfurt for the parliament. In Prague, only two ballots were cast for the Frankfurt parliament.³² Palacký, however, received an invitation to the Frankfurt Parliament, but rejected it as he was not a German, but a Czech. He did, that same year, help to organize the Pan-Slavic Conference in Prague.

The Frankfurt Parliament's main goal was to unite all the German-speaking peoples into one state. Germany, since the days of Charlemagne, was a collection of large and small sovereign states, loosely organized under the umbrella of the elected Holy Roman Empire. By the sixteenth century, the Habsburg dynasty dominated the Holy Roman Empire, making the office of emperor one of their hereditary titles.³³ Napoleon Bonaparte, however finally dissolved the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. Without the Empire, German nationalists sought to create a new superstate for their nation. This Greater Germany [*Grossdeutschland*] plan failed because of the long-standing rivalry between the Habsburgs of Austria and the Hohenzollerns of Prussia, the two largest German states. The parliament offered the imperial title to the King of Prussia, Friedrich

³² Cohen, 32.

³³ The emperor was still elected by the traditional *Kurfürsten* (prince-electors) but the title did not leave the House of Habsburg until the ultimate demise of the empire itself.

Wilhelm IV, but both Ferdinand I and his successor Franz Joseph I of Austria were not willing to break up their lands.

The Pan-Slavic conference in Prague also failed in its goals to create a pan-Slavic state with the Russian czar at its head. While delegates from the Habsburg lands supported Russian domination, those delegates from lands under Russian control (especially in Poland) strongly protested. Without a consensus, the conference stalled. The outbreak of popular revolution and rioting in Prague and Austrian actions to quell the violence (Marshal Windishgrätz bombarded Prague with cannons) quickly led to the end of the conference. While the Revolutions of 1848 and the elected parliaments ultimately failed in their various goals, the militancy of nationalism increased.

Another weapon in the struggle for Czech equality with Germans was the emerging movement of Pan-Slavism. Pan-Slavism was the belief that all Slavic nationalities should unite against the common German (and Austrian) enemy. To this end, Palacký oversaw the first Pan-Slavic Conference in Prague in 1848. Little came from Pan-Slavism as the only Slavic nation with true international power was Russian who was not interested in working towards Slavic brotherhood, but instead were as interested as the Germans in dominating the smaller Slavic nations, as the Poles found as their country was repeatedly partitioned between Austria, Prussia and Russia. While Pan-Slavism never took root, the Pan-Slavic Conference marked the first time that Czechs and

Slovaks worked together as partners.³⁴ The conference fell apart as riots (part of the Revolutions of 1848) broke out in the streets and those meeting in Prague left in disgust.

The revolutions of 1848 caused much upheaval throughout Europe, but in the Hapsburg Empire, other than in the Kingdom of Hungary where a protracted military campaign was required, the army quickly regained control and reestablished order. One result of the revolutions was that Palacký entered into politics.

Palacký's family were members of the Bohemia Brothers Church. Much of his published work focuses on the Hussite period. He believed that the election of George of Poděbrady represented the ultimate expression of the innovation and superiority of Czechs to Germans.³⁵ Palacký began his work by saying, "The whole of Czech history consists of conflict between Czechs and Germans."³⁶

While Palacký was a Czech nationalist, he still conformed to the requirements of life in Habsburg Austria. The spoken language at his house depended on the house guests.³⁷ Depending on the guest's linguistic preference and social standing, Palacký would adopt a different language at home. In many ways, Palacký embodied the strained life between Czech-dominated Bohemia and the larger German-dominated Austrian Empire where Czechs, in order to succeed, needed to be not only fluent in their native Czech language but also in the German *lingua franca* of the Empire. Germans, especially

³⁴ Lawrence Orton, *The Prague Slav Conference of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 78. The conference especially saw the emergence of Pavel Jozef Šafárik, a Slovak, to international political prominence and the first time Czechs and Slovaks worked together to further independence.

³⁵ František Palacký, *Dějiny národa Českého v Čechách a v Moravě [History of the Czech nation in Bohemia and Moravia]* (Prague: B. Kočí, 1926), 828.

³⁶ Ibid., 14.

³⁷ Cohen, 84.

civil servants, on the other hand, did not have to learn the Czech language until passage of the Badeni language ordinances in 1891.

In 1846, Palacký with Slovak nationalist Pavel Šafařík founded one of the most important social institution of nineteenth century Czech nationalism, the *Měšťanská Beseda* [Burghers' Club].³⁸ The Beseda became one of the primary vehicles of social change and the growth of Czech nationalism. The German equivalent was the Casino. These two social clubs became the first, and most important, of a series of social organizations that increased divisions along ethnic lines.

Musical Nationalism

As with the national museum, the Bohemian nobility in the nineteenth century helped to spark a rebirth of other aspects of Czech culture. A Czech proverb simply states, “Co Čech, to muzikant [Where there is a Czech, there is a musician].” Composers like Bedřich Smetana and Antonín Dvořák helped to spark a rise in Czech nationalism through their music. The construction of the National Theater [*Národní Divadlo*] in Prague again emphasized the use of public space to legitimize an expression of cultural nationalism.

Palacký led the movement to construct the national theater, submitting an application for the theater's construction to the Bohemian Diet in 1845, which gained approval of the Bohemian Diet, but progress towards construction did not proceed for six

³⁸ Ibid., 29-30.

more years. In 1851, Palacký and others founded the Society for the Establishment of a Czech National Theater in Prague. Unlike the National Museum, the National Theater collected contributions from all segments of Czech society, showing how much the idea of Czech nationality had progressed in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Bohemia, in general, and Prague, specifically, has a long history of music and theater. Under the reign of Emperor Joseph II, Prague was a second musical capital of the empire, playing host to the likes of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. After the warm reception of *The Marriage of Figaro* in Prague, Mozart premiered his opera *Don Giovanni* there. Ludwig von Beethoven lived in the spa town of Teplice/Teplitz for two summers, where he composed his famous piece *Für Elise*. Richard Wagner composed his opera *Tannhäuser* in Střechov Castle in Northern Bohemia. While the musical tradition of Bohemia encompasses many of the most famous composers in history, but until the second half of the nineteenth century, none of these composers were Czech.

While the collection for the construction of the National Theater drew from all three estates, the nobility contributed the lion's share of monies for construction. The nobility viewed patronage of the arts as a way to legitimize their claims to political power.³⁹ In 1863, Count Jan von Harrach offered a prize of 600 gulden for the best historic and comic operas based on Czech culture.⁴⁰ Smetana's command of the Czech language was poor due to his education in German. Smetana made every effort to learn his native Czech language so that he could effectively express his national beliefs in

³⁹ see Arno Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime*.

⁴⁰ John Clapham, *Smetana* (London: Dent, 1972), 32-33.

music. Until Smetana, Czech opera as a genre did not exist. Smetana helped to foster the growth of Czech opera and music by joining the *Beseda* as the director of musical affairs. From this position, he oversaw the musical component of the most important social institution of Prague.⁴¹

Bedřich Smetana was one of the first Czech composers to gain acclaim outside Bohemia. Inspired by many of the German mythological operas of Richard Wagner, Smetana also sought to portray many ancient Bohemian legends in his work. Smetana's best known work is his six part cycle he entitled *Má vlast* [My Fatherland]. The six parts of the piece, using the style of a tone poem, relate various aspects of Czech culture and history and portray musical images of the countryside.

The first piece, Vyšehrad, after the ancient seat of the Bohemian royal household. Vyšehrad castle is located on a high cliff above the Vltava [Moldau] River immediately south of the Old Town of Prague (now the castle is inside Prague city limits). As the seat of government moved to Prague Castle [Hradschin] with the expansions there conducted during the reign of Charles IV, Vyšehrad declined in importance as a royal residence; however, as a military outpost guarding the southern approaches to Prague, Vyšehrad was still important. Vyšehrad was the sight of an important battle during the Hussite Wars when Hussite forces seized control of the castle thus securing the southern approaches to the capital. With changes in military tactics and weapons, especially gunpowder, that rendered fortified walls obsolete, Vyšehrad fell into disrepair. Rebuilt as a military barracks in the seventeenth century, Habsburg officials gave the castle its current

⁴¹ Ibid., 78.

Baroque look. In 1869, a cemetery for famous Czechs was established on the site.

Smetana is one of those buried here.

The second, and most famous piece of the series, Vltava [Die Moldau] is about the river that flows from Southern Bohemia through Prague and empties into the Labe [Elbe] River just north of Prague at Mělník. The river is at the very heart of the Czech soul.

The piece named Šárka follows Vltava. Šárka was a legendary leader of a group of female warriors in the Maidens' War. She was a follower of the mythical queen and founder of the Přemyslid Dynasty of Bohemia named Libuše. Libuše, according to legend, founded Vyšehrad. After the death of Libuše, the women of the realm rebelled against Libuše's widower Přemysl the Ploughman. According to the legend, Šárka entrapped a band of armed men led by Ctirad by tying herself to a tree and claiming that the rebel maidens tied her there and put a horn and a jug of mead out of her reach to mock her. Ctirad believed her story and untied her from the tree, whereupon she poured the mead for the men as a gift. The men did not know that Šárka and the maidens put a sleeping potion into the mead. When all the men fell asleep, Šárka blew the horn as a signal for the rebel maidens to come out of their hiding places and join her in slaughtering the men. She was captured and defeated along with the rest of the army soon afterward.

Z českých luhů a hájů [From Bohemian Meadows and Forests] is simply Smetana's vision of the grandeur of the forests of Bohemia, especially the Šumava (German: Böhmerwald or Bohemian forest) region of Southern Bohemia. The beautiful

meadows and forests are still popular tourist and recreational destinations especially since the establishment of Šumava National Park in Southern Bohemia.

Tábor, the fifth movement, recalls the Hussite movement and the Hussite's major fortress. The Hussite period was one of the most popular subjects during the Czech National Revival. Starting with Palacký and continuing with the works of Masaryk and others, nationalist leaders used the Hussite period as ammunition for their arguments against German domination. Czech nationalists claimed that the Hussite Revolution was less dominated by theological conflicts as ethnic conflict between Czechs and Germans. The nationalists continued to use the Hussite Revolution as a talking point, saying that the Hussite years were the last time that Czechs were free from domination by another nation.

The final piece, closely coupled with Tábor, is Blaník. Blaník draws inspiration from the legend of the knights in the mountain. According to the legend, in the mountain of Blaník sleeps an army of knights, led by St. Wenceslas. When the Czech nation faces its darkest hour and is surrounded by enemy armies from all four points of the compass, St. Wenceslas will retrieve the magical sword of Bruncvík (that chops off the heads of enemies on its own) and will awaken his knights and will led them into battle to save the nation from certain doom. Some of the defeated Hussites, at the end of the Hussite Wars, retreated to Blaník and attempted to awaken the legendary king to bring salvation to the nation. Smetana blended the themes of Tábor into Blaník to revive the spirit of the Hussites and to link it with the hope for brilliant future. This piece, fittingly the final of

the cycle, looks to the future salvation of the Czech nation taking an inspiration from the past.

Smetana meant for his compositions to take on this aura, as Richard Wagner did with German legend, Smetana did with Czech. Wagner and Smetana were contemporaries and both had similar aims -- to emphasize their respective nations' ancient past and radiant future. Many political and commercial endeavors in the modern Czech Republic use parts of Smetana's *My Fatherland* to portray a sense of Czechness. His work serves as a Czech way for a company to "wrap themselves in the flag" to sell their products in the domestic market.

Smetana in turn influenced other Czech composers, most notably Antonín Dvořák. While Dvořák is most famous for his *From the New World* symphony, his *Slavonic Dances* furthered Smetana's use of traditional Czech folk melodies. Dvořák is the most famous Czech composer, however by his generation, the groundwork for

Czech literature flourished at the end of the nineteenth century. Authors like Karel Čapek, the first to coin the term *robot* (from the Czech *robota*-serf labor), Božena Němcová, who recorded many traditional Czech fairy tails, and Jaroslav Hašek's *The Adventures of the Good Soldier Švejk in the World War*, inspiration for Joseph Heller's *Catch-22*. Both *Švejk* and *Catch-22* are stories set during war, but through the use of satire, are show how wasteful and pointless war really is. Both novels use humor to portray a anti-war message. Czech literature finally had a popular audience as Czechs became more aware of their own culture.

The creation of a distinct Czech culture that emerged during the nineteenth century helped to create the foundation for an independent Czechoslovak state. The political situation moved from the height of royal absolutism during the reign of Joseph II to times of open revolt and cultural separation.

Order was short-lived after the Revolutions of 1848. Continued conflict with Prussia eventually resulted in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. In the war, the Prussian army invaded Bohemia and crushed the Austrian army at the Battle of Königgrätz. The war resulted not only in a stinging defeat and renewed imperial weakness, but also in the final death of hopes for Greater Germany. By 1867, the Hungarians had enough political power to force the Austrians to recognize Hungary as an equal and established the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. The Czech National Party under Palacký's guidance bristled at the new-found power of Hungary; however, due to internal disputes about the response to the Hungarian revolution, the party split into the Old Czech Party, led by Palacký's son-in-law František Rejzler, that advocated a boycott of parliament and the Young Czechs, who worked towards Czech autonomy through open dialogue within the existing government of the empire. The generation of Palacký eventually lost power to a younger generation of Czech nationalists. This new generation would finally see the creation of an independent Czech state.

CHAPTER 4

BEER WARS: GEOGRAPHY AND THE CREATION OF A NATION-STATE

Many places in the Bohemian kingdom have both Czech and German names.⁴² These place-names serve to illustrate the cultural conflict between the two nationalities because these names show, on one hand the conflict over control of language, but also over control over the physical geography. Different regimes, both Czech and German, politicized the naming of places. The conflict over geography shows that place is an important aspect of culture.

Keith Basso, in his work *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*, explores how place-names have a deeper cultural meaning for people than simple just being a name printed on a map. Our sense of place is so entwined with our sense of self, that, as Basso says, it quite simply *is*.⁴³ Since our sense of place is so closely related to our sense of self, when we are deprived of our places, we feel lost. As a dialogue in colonialism, when the colonial victors impose their places on the conquered, the victor deprives the colonized people of part of their very self.

A common aspect of colonialism is geographic renaming. Rarely does this renaming take the form of overt action to change names solely in an effort to order to repress those colonized, but often the renaming occurs to either adapt the language of the colonized to that of the colonizer or because the colonizer simply ignores any previous

⁴² The technical term for a geographic place-name is toponym.

⁴³ Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), xiii.

place-names that existed prior to their conquest. The changes in names that Basso describes fall into the later category as European-American settlers tended to ignore the Apache place-names and just rename geographic features with their own names.

In California, many of the Native American place-names were replaced by Spanish names. The Spanish mostly ignored the Native American names. When the United States gained control of California, the Spanish names, in general remained, but many were adapted to English pronunciation. An example of adaptation is the port of Los Angeles, San Pedro. The even among Spanish speakers in California, the district is pronounced with a long E sound (San Pee-dro) which is not how the name would normally be pronounced in Spanish. After the Mexican-American War, place-names in California again changed to reflect the new imperial masters. Many place names were appropriated and, like San Pedro, adapted to more common English pronunciation. This appropriation and adaptation of place-names served to displace the Spanish-speaking landholders in California.

Even into the present, place-names can be a bone of contention. In the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, conflict over place-names is an important issue. In the context of the wider Arab-Israeli conflict, the very names of the territories are political questions. Some Israelis insisting on calling the area known in the Western world as the West Bank, Judea and Samaria (traditional Hebrew names for the region), a name that disassociates the imperialist nature of Israel's capture of the area as a result of war, while Palestinians insist on using terms like the Occupied Territories. In the West Bank, the name of the town of Nablus is disputed. According to official Israeli maps, the town

bears the name Shechem, the traditional Hebrew name for the town dating back to at least 1350 BCE. The name Nablus derives from the Roman city of Neapolis founded near the site of the Biblical city of Shechem, founded in 72 CE by the Roman Emperor Vespasian, the town came under Arab rule in 636 CE at which time, the Arabs adapted the name to Arabic, becoming Nablus. Thus the name of the city remained until 1967 when Israel seized control of the city and “restored” the name of Shechem.⁴⁴

In the Kingdom of Bohemia, native Czech place-names were replaced by German names in official capacities especially as a result of the pro-German language reforms of Emperor Joseph II. This renaming effort took various forms. Many German place-names simply adapted the existing Czech name to German pronunciation, much like in California. For example, names like Pilsen instead of Plzeň or Trebitsch for Třebíč show demonstrate this form of renaming geography.

Habsburg officials substituted Czech names for geographic features for German ones, like Ústí nad Labem became Aussig an der Elbe, meaning in both languages Mouth [of the Bílina river] on the Elbe (Czech-*Labe*) river. As the German became the official place-names for these features, especially after the reforms of Joseph II in the 1780s that made German the official language of the Habsburg Empire, the Czech names began to fade in importance.

⁴⁴ see Naftali Kadmon, *Toponymy: The Lore, Laws and Language of Geographic Names* (New York: Vantage Press, 1997), 82. Since the archaeological site of Shechem is actually located two kilometers from the city of Nablus, Kadmon’s (who served as chief cartographer for Israel and is a member of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographic Names) description of the debate only serves to further illustrate the contention that is inherent in the debate over place-names.

The Creation of a New State

In exile in France, then later in the United Kingdom and the United States during World War I, T. G. Masaryk successfully convinced the Allied governments and especially President Woodrow Wilson that Czechoslovakia was a viable state that deserved independence from Austria-Hungary. At the conclusion of World War I, a Czechoslovak delegation led by Edvard Beneš participated in the Paris Peace Conference. While the victorious powers accepted the idea of an independent Czechoslovakia, the practical matter of creating a Czechoslovak state was not as simple. The Allies attempted to create states (geographic boundaries) for nations (peoples of common culture, ethnicity and language) that previously formed constituent parts of the defeated powers.

The major Allied powers formed Territorial Commissions to draw borders not only for Czechoslovakia but for all other states created as a result of the war. These commissions used various criteria to determine the placement of the borders, including already-existing administrative boundaries between regions as well as the military and commercial importance of an area. Where possible, borders followed an easily defined natural boundary as natural boundaries were much easier to define and enforce than an imaginary line on a map.⁴⁵ The commissions sought to include as many of a state's nationals as possible while limiting as many nationals of other states as possible, while preserving previously existing state and regional boundaries to simplify administration of

⁴⁵ Alan G. Ogilvie, *Some Aspects of the Boundary Settlement at the Peace Conference* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 5.

these territories.⁴⁶ While the principal of creating states with as few minorities as possible was certainly in the mind of the Commission for Czechoslovakia, the reality of drawing the border was starkly different. In the end, almost three million ethnic Germans became citizens of Czechoslovakia but were considered a minority. The nearly one million Slovaks were considered a majority population in the country as the Commission sought to include as many Slovaks as possible in the new state.⁴⁷

This large population of Germans in Czechoslovakia later became a major issue. The German minority was the majority population in the mountainous border region that surrounded the interior plains of Bohemia. In this region, Czechs were the minority. The territorial commission concluded that:

the separation of all areas inhabited by the German-Bohemians would not only expose Czechoslovakia to great dangers but equally create great difficulties for the Germans themselves. The only practicable solution was to incorporate these Germans into Czechoslovakia.⁴⁸

The commission realized that if Czechoslovakia lost the mountainous border region, the country would not have any viable defensive terrain; without viable defensive terrain, the very existence of Czechoslovakia would be in jeopardy. The victorious powers further were unwilling to cede territory to Germany or Austria at the end of a war they lost.

Weighing the drawbacks of having a large German minority in Czechoslovakia against the potential for a country with no natural defenses and few critical natural resources, the

⁴⁶ Ibid., 8.

⁴⁷ Ethnic identity for the commission was categorized based solely on language, a practice started by the Habsburg government in their census of 1880. While there are distinct differences between a Rhine German, a Prussian and an Austrian; these groups, for the purpose of the commission, were considered the same because they spoke German.

⁴⁸ United States Department of State, "The Paris Peace Conference, 1919," *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*; vol. 12 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920), 126.

Commission chose to include the German population as part of Czechoslovakia. This border area saw considerable overlap in culture. While language traditionally was the primary indicator of nationality, many German-speakers spoke Czech and most Czechs spoke German. In České Budějovice/Budweis, as many as sixty percent of the population was bilingual.⁴⁹ In other areas, while the Czech minority was bilingual, the German majority only spoke German.⁵⁰

Further compounding the issue of nationalities, in Slovakia had a large population of Hungarians. The Territorial Commission decided to include these regions as part of Czechoslovakia for various reasons, unable to meet the criterion of trying to include as many of the state's nationals as possible while minimizing the minority populations as these populations after centuries were too thoroughly mixed to separate and still have viable borders. Dr. Beneš in Paris argued that these areas with large minority populations were traditionally part of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia and should be included in the new state as the borders existed as provincial borders under the predecessor state of Austria-Hungary. Beneš especially was mindful of the region of the Duchy of Teschen (Těšín in Czech) because the main railway line connecting Eastern Slovakia with the rest of the country ran through the area. Without the existing railway line, Eastern Slovakia was unreachable from the rest of the country. Teschen had a predominantly Polish

⁴⁹ Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans*, 34. The use of both the Czech name (České Budějovice) and the German (Budwies) together is from King's work.

⁵⁰ The unpopular Badeni language ordinances of 1891 that required all civil service employees in Bohemia and Moravia to speak both Czech and German demonstrated how few German-speaking civil servants in Bohemia and Moravia spoke or were willing to learn Czech.

population as well as extensive coal deposits.⁵¹ The major Allied powers at the peace conference established a separate commission, known as the Teschen Commission, to decide the final boundary on that portion of the border.

Ignoring the decision of the Teschen Commission that gave the area to Poland, the Czechoslovak government militarily occupied Teschen until a conference with the Poles in Spa, Belgium in 1920 decided the matter. Half of this area was formally incorporated into Czechoslovakia, but maintained a distinct hybrid culture with its own dialect -- a hybrid of Polish with many Czech and German words. Poles call the area of the Duchy of Teschen that became part of Czechoslovakia Zaolzie, or the lands beyond the Olza River as the river became the new border. The inclusion of this area into Czechoslovakia allowed for continuation of the rail mainline to eastern Slovakia, which was viewed as essential to the interests of Czechoslovakia as there was no other existing rail communication with that part of the country.⁵²

The largest stumbling block in the borderlands of Czechoslovakia soon became the area known as the Sudetenland.⁵³ Throughout the history of the Kingdom of Bohemia, Germans moved into the traditional Czech lands, beginning with the invitation by King Přemysl Otakar II in 1254. Largely settling in the border region of Bohemia, this

⁵¹ United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: The Paris Peace Conference, 1919*, vol. IV, 474-475.

⁵² Zygmunt J. Gasiorowski, "Polish-Czechoslovak Relations, 1918-1922," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 35, no. 84 (December 1956): 178-180.

⁵³ The Sudetenland geographically refers to areas along the northern border of the present-day Czech Republic where the Sudeten mountain range runs. Following World War I and even more so during the 1930s, the Sudetenland became a political designation, for some, and included all the border regions of Czechoslovakia along the borders of Austria and Germany where significant numbers of German speakers lived.

German population generally lived in peace with their Czech neighbors. Until the nineteenth century, divisions along ethnic lines largely did not exist. This changed with the rise of modern nationalism in Germany and in the Czech lands.⁵⁴ This German-dominated area assumed a new importance during the 1930s with the Nazi take-over in neighboring Germany and calls for the establishment of *Grossdeutschland*-Greater Germany.

The Struggle over Public Space

With the establishment of an independent Czechoslovakia, control over public space changed. Memorials and monuments that portrayed Austrian motifs were replaced by new Czechoslovak motifs. Some of the most important public spaces in Bohemia became the scenes of conflicts between Czechs and Germans.

The landscape of Prague, as the capital of Bohemia, changed with the change in regime. Even before the fall of the Habsburg monarchy, changes in the public spaces of Prague came to the forefront. The heart of the New Town of Prague is Wenceslas Square [Václavské Náměstí]. The very name of the square changed in 1848 at the suggestion of Karel Havlíček Borovský. Prior to 1848, the square was known as Koňský trh [The Horse Market] because of the area was the site of periodic horse markets during the Middle Ages. At the time the square was renamed, a monumental equestrian sculpture of St. Wenceslas, the patron saint and one of the first princes of Bohemia, was emplaced at the head of the square. In 1891, a temple to the Czech nation, the neo-renaissance

⁵⁴ see Gary Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival*.

National Museum building was completed with the St. Wenceslas monument in front of the new building. This permanent home for the collections of the National Museum became a strong statement of Czech nationalism and showed how weak imperial power had grown.⁵⁵ The placement of the museum and the monument in the very heart of Prague shows how important Czechs, by 1891, viewed their national heritage.

The Old Town Square [Staroměstská Náměstí] also became the site for conflict over public space. Old Town Square, of almost equal status with Wenceslas Square, is the oldest square in Prague. At the center of the square, during Habsburg times, stood a Marian column, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and erected at the end of the Thirty Years War. Many Czechs viewed the column as being connected to the Habsburg monarchy and the domination of the Catholic Church that the Habsburgs promoted and as a celebration of the Catholic Habsburg victory over the Protestant Bohemian estates at the Battle of White Mountain. In 1918, a group of Czechs gathered in the square and pulled down the column. The shattered remains of the column became a symbol to many Czechs of the fall of Austria-Hungary.⁵⁶ While over ninety percent of Czechs were Roman Catholic, by the end of the nineteenth century, Czech nationalists increasingly identified with the Hussite cause, especially Protestant Czech leaders like František Palacký and T. G. Masaryk. Sharing space on Old Town Square with the Marian Column, a monument to Jan Hus was erected on the five hundredth anniversary of Hus'

⁵⁵ For a discussion of noble attempts to gain legitimacy through patronage of the arts, see Arno Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime*.

⁵⁶ Nancy M. Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 109.

execution (July 6, 1915). With the fall of the Marian Column, the statue of Hus remained as the only memorial on the square.⁵⁷

At the same time, Czech nationalists sought to memorialize the other hero of the Hussite Revolution, Jan Žižka. Nationalist leaders renamed district around the site of Žižka's victory during the siege of Prague, Vítkov Hill, Žižkov in 1869 in honor of his victory.⁵⁸ Plans for a monument to the Czechoslovak state, with a gigantic (the largest in Europe) equestrian statue of Žižka as the centerpiece and a Tomb of the Unknown Soldier first emerged in 1925. The colossal size and location of the monument insured that it could be viewed from all over the city and served to legitimize the memory of Žižka as the preeminent Czech military hero.

While Czechs erected new monuments to commemorate the new state and the historical memories that the new state wished to propagate, other memorials were destroyed. In the main square of the Malá Stana quarter of Prague, a monument to another military hero stood. Field Marshal Johann Josef Wentzel Graf Radetzky von Radetz was a Czech military leader under the Habsburgs. Marshal Radetzky led Austrian forces during the First Italian War of Independence, winning key battles at Custoza and Novara. After Czechoslovak independence, the equestrian statue of Marshal Radetzky was removed because nationalists believed that Radetzky was more Austrian than Czech

⁵⁷ There have been various unsuccessful attempts to reconstruct the Marian Column for details, see Cynthia Paces, "The Rise and Fall of Prague's Marian Column," *Radical History Review* 79 (Winter 2001), 141-155.

⁵⁸ Matthew Witkovsky, "Tales of an Absent Monument," *Harvard Design Magazine* 13 (Winter/Spring 2001), 2.

and therefor a traitor to the nation. While a memorial of Radetzky was not allowed in such a prominent place in Prague, the statue was preserved in the National Museum.

Public memory was important to the emerging state because portraying the desired memories helped to legitimize the regime's version of historical events which in turn served to legitimize the regime itself. Masaryk's image, after his death, became a symbol of democratic Czechoslovakia, a symbol that prompted removal of Masaryk memorials by the communist government during the 1950s. Public memory served to create a shared identity for the newly formed Czechoslovak nation-state.⁵⁹

Economic Nationalism

While culture was central to the national struggle, economic issues also became important. Czechs fought Germans and Poles over access to mineral resources and important strategic points. Geopolitics did have a role, especially with the emergence of an independent Czechoslovakia. After independence, Czechs became the imperialists, with the German minority largely on the receiving end of Czech exploitation.

The process of decolonization often involves reverting back to traditional names. In India, the city of Bombay became Mumbai; in Czechoslovakia in 1920, the traditional Czech place-names became official once again with passage of a law requiring all cities, towns and streets to bear a Czech name on the signage.⁶⁰ However, even during the

⁵⁹ For a discussion of the role of memory in history see David Thelen, "Memory and American History," *Journal of American History* 75, no. 4 (March 1989): 1117-1129.

⁶⁰ Parliament of Czechoslovakia, "Zákon o názvech měst, obcí, osad, a ulic, jakož i označování místními tabulkami a číslování domů," *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu Československého* no. 266/1920 (Prague, 1920): 595-596.

process of decolonization, other factors may influence the official decision about place-names and trump desires to eliminate vestiges of Habsburg imperialism.

The European Union recognizes many foodstuff products that have a distinct link to a specific geographic location with three levels of protection depending on the extent that a specific product is processed in the designated geographic area. Based on the belief that a geographic location endows a product with unique characteristics and qualities, which does not always reflect the reality with advances in agricultural and food processing technology, the EU protects foodstuffs that have a connection to a geographic place.⁶¹ For example, champagne, the sparkling wine traditionally produced in the Champagne region of France has this protection from the EU. Other sparkling wines not originating from the Champagne region cannot be sold inside the EU as champagne. Sekt, an Austrian sparkling wine, while sold in the United States as champagne, is included in this ban, however, Sekt is also protected as a product. Products that receive this protection must maintain their geographical connection, however, as demonstrated by the case of Newcastle Brown Ale, an English beer traditionally brewed in Newcastle upon Tyne which lost its protection in 2007 when sale of the production company resulted in the beer being brewed in another location outside Newcastle.⁶²

⁶¹ Oskari Rovamo, "Monopolising? The Protection of Geographical Indications in the European Community," thesis, Helsinki University Faculty of Law, August 2006, 2.

⁶² The Commission of European Communities, "Commission Regulation (EC) No 952/2007 of 9 August 2007 cancelling a registration of a name in the Register of protected designations of origin and protected geographical indications (Newcastle Brown Ale (PGI)), " *Official Journal of the European Commission*, October 8, 2007.

In the modern Czech Republic, one of the major exports is beer.⁶³ Beer brewing in the Czech lands has a long and distinguished history. The Bohemian style of golden colored, bottom-fermented lager emerged with the first batch from the Bürger Brauerei (people's brewery) in Plzeň (Czech)/Pilsen (German) on October 5, 1842.⁶⁴ Since the brewery was owned by the German-speaking middle class (*Bürger*) of Plzeň/ Pilsen and originally brewed by the Bavarian brewmaster hired by the brewery, Josef Groll, the brand name chosen was Pilsner. Due to the popularity of the beer, other breweries copied the techniques of the Pilsner brewery thus the name for style of beer as a whole became Pilsner.

The Czech citizens of Plzeň/Pilsen, seeking to cash in on the popularity of Pilsner established their own brewery in the city. Their cross-town rival beer, trade named Gambrinus but marketed as Pilsener Gambrinus as it was also brewed in Plzeň/Pilsen, sought to cash in on the popularity of the original beer from the Bürger Brauerei. In response the Bürger Brauerei trademarked the name Pilsner Urquell (meaning original source in German) to secure their claim to being the one true Pilsner beer as the rival Czech-owned brewery attempted to appropriate the name of Pilsener which derived from the German place-name. Because of the commercial success of the German-owned brewery using the geographically linked name Pilsner, the Czech-owned brewery used the language of their imperial masters to further their commercial aims.

⁶³ The Czech Republic exported 3.7 million hectoliters (97 million gallons) in 2007 according to the Czech Statistical Office, online at <http://www.praha.czso.cz/eng/redakce.nsf/i/home> updated on March 3, 2009.

⁶⁴ Tom Standage, *A History of the World in Six Glasses* (New York: Walker & Co., 2005), 174.

In southern Bohemia is the city of České Budějovice (Czech)/Budweis (German).

The production of beer in Budweis/České Budějovice has a similar history as Pilsen/Plzeň. The German merchants in the city established a brewery they named *Bürgerliches Brauhaus Budweis* (Civic Brewery Budweis) in 1795. Most properties inside the city included a share in the brewery that paid an annual dividend; to sell a building linked to the brewery was to lose one's share of the dividend.⁶⁵ By 1875, the company began to export to the United States, where other companies copied the name, most notably, the St. Louis-based brewery Anheuser-Busch.

As in Pilsen/Plzeň, in Budweis/České Budějovice, spurred by a growing national consciousness the Czech-speaking citizens decided to try to tap into the growing market for Budweiser beer and founded their own brewery in the city. Spurred by a mismanagement scandal and political differences in the German-controlled *Bürgerliches Brauhaus* and unable to gain control of a brewery linked building, Czech businessmen in 1895 founded *Český akciový pivovar* (Czech Joint-Stock Brewery) with a brand labeled Budweiser Budvar (now called Budějvický Budvar in the domestic Czech market).

One popular complaint against the *Bürgerliches Brauhaus* revolved around the secrecy of the firm's books. The directors of the *Bürgerliches Brauhaus*, secretly began to divert funds from the brewery around 1892. These leaders not only sought personal enrichment but also wished to use the funds to help advance their political ambitions.⁶⁶ The scandal only served to help the *Český akciový pivovar* because many lower-class

⁶⁵ King, 106.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 109.

Germans began to invest in the brewery because the company, as a corporation, had open books and was not dominated by the upper classes in town. Within six years, growth at the *Bürgerliches Brauhaus* stagnated while the *Český akciový pivovar* became one of the largest producers of beer in the country.

The Conflict of Names

In 1911, officials from the American firm Anheuser-Busch and the *Bürgerliches Brauhaus Budweis* from Budweis/České Budějovice met at a beer festival in Germany when they realized that both companies shared the same brand name. The two companies signed an agreement that the American firm would market their beer in North America as Budweiser, while the European firm retained the Budweiser name in Europe. At the time, neither company saw much potential for concern with the future implications of the agreement as both companies were regional in nature.⁶⁷ In 1911, little potential for large-scale transcontinental export existed for either company as a lager-style beer's taste faced ruin in an unrefrigerated, trans-Atlantic voyage as was demonstrated in the *Bürgerliches Brauhaus Budweis*' first attempt in 1875 to export to the United States by.⁶⁸ This agreement between the two firms did not prevent either company from selling their products in the other's sphere of influence, but it did prevent them from using the Budweiser name in the other's established territory. Anheuser-Busch's solution was to

⁶⁷ Asmara Ghebremichael, "Will the Real Budweiser Please Stand Up?," *The Prague Journal of Central European Affairs* 7, issue 4 (Winter 2006), 23.

⁶⁸ This attempt at export is where Adolphus Busch got the name for his new beer.

simply shorten the name of their beer to Bud in some countries in Europe where they exported.

After World War II, many important changes occurred. Immediately after the war, the Beneš government revoked the citizenship and property rights of all ethnically German citizens and then expelled ethnic Germans from the country. Shortly after the expulsions, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia under Klement Gottwald assumed power and began to nationalize industries, including the breweries. The Beneš Decrees, as the expulsions are known, served to finally settle the brewery naming competition inside Czechoslovakia as the Germans lost control of their breweries and ceased to exist as a viable minority in the country. Pilsner Urquell came under the control of the government who merged the company with rival Gambrinus in a government-controlled conglomerate. The German brewery in České Budějovice remained separate from the Czech-owned brewery but the government assumed ownership of both breweries and changed the name of the formerly German brewery to *Budějovický Měšťanský Pivovar* (Budweis Citizen's Brewery) and changed the name of the beer itself to Samson as a way to eliminate German influence in the brewery.

The communist government of Czechoslovakia tightly controlled exports of beer. The only brands allowed for export were Pilsner Urquell, Gambrinus, Staropramen (from Prague) and Budějovický Budvar. The communist government forced the Budějovický Měšťanský Pivovar to surrender their rights to the trade name of Budweiser to the Budvar brewery. This act, according to international trade law, did not transfer the 1911 agreement with Anheuser-Busch over naming rights with Anheuser-Busch to

Budějovický Budvar. The agreement only applied to the Budějovický Měšťanský Pivovar and was only between Anheuser-Busch and the Budějovický Měšťanský Pivovar, not the Budějovický Budvar company.

Communist economic isolation, while a major obstacle to export sales, did not spell the death knell for the Czech brewing industry. Czechoslovakia had the highest consumption of beer, per capita, in the world. During communism, the Czech breweries, while generally prohibited from export, benefitted from a strong, protected domestic market. The strong domestic market insured that the breweries survived and even flourished during communism. An additional factor in the strong domestic sales for the brewers was that the quality of their product was viewed as superior to imported beer. Imports still only have about a one percent market share in the Czech market.⁶⁹

With the realities of Cold War isolationism, the strife over what beer could claim the name of Budweiser was moot. The Czech firms, for the most part, did not export to places that Anheuser-Busch had significant market share. Anheuser-Busch exported to Europe, but under brand name Bud in West Germany and France in accordance with the 1911 agreement, as this was their established brand name, places where the Czech firms were niche labels at best. Advances in refrigeration and especially ship propulsion, allowing for rapid trans-Atlantic shipments of beer without spoiling the flavor changed how Anheuser-Busch did business. The rise of multinational corporations allowed Anheuser-Busch to open European markets for their products and eliminate the problems

⁶⁹ Ghebremichael, 24.

of trans-Atlantic export by opening breweries in Europe either through their own construction or from acquisitions and mergers with European brewers.

Starting in 1989 after the Velvet Revolution ended communism in Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak economy transformed to an open, market-based economy. Privatization followed with most breweries moving to private ownership (the notable exception is the Budvar brewery, which is still owned by the Czech government). Exports increased, first to Germany and other neighboring countries but eventually to North America. This immediately led to conflict with Anheuser-Busch over copyright and trade name use and eventually led to court action to settle the dispute.

Budějovický Budvar filed a number of lawsuits in an attempt to secure rights to use the name Budweiser. According to an Anheuser-Busch company spokesman, Budějovický Budvar specifically acknowledged in 1939 that Anheuser-Busch was the first to use “Budweiser” as a trademark anywhere in the world.⁷⁰ Budějovický Budvar then changed tactics and relied on the European Union’s (as the Czech Republic is a member of the EU) protections of Geographic Indicators (GIs) in an attempt to wrest control of the name Budweiser from all competitors.

In cases brought before the European Court of Justice and the World Trade Organization, Budějovický Budvar alleged that because the name Budweiser derived from the German geographic place-name of the city of České Budějovice, that their beer deserved protection under the EU’s Geographic Indicator laws.⁷¹ Both bodies disagreed,

⁷⁰ Daniel Pierce, e-mail message to author, October 11, 2009.

⁷¹ European Court of Justice, *Budějovický Budvar, národní podnik v Rudolf Ammersin GmbH* (‘American Bud’), C-216/01, [2003] E.C.R. I-13617.

proclaiming that since the region was no longer officially called Budweis and that since the term Budějovický was Czech and not German, that the Czech brewer was not entitled to protection. As the firm is still owned by the Czech government, because of actions of the government to abolish German influences in the country, the protections that would normally apply to a German name did not exist for a Czech product.

In effect, the Czech government fought an American firm for control of a German name that otherwise the the Czech government traditionally sought to eliminate simply because that name sold beer better than the equivalent Czech name. While the process of decolonization is on the surface a seemingly simple matter, the details are much more complex. To the Czech government, the concerns over keeping an important economic entity trumped concerns over eliminating German influence. Profits were more important than principals.

CHAPTER 5

T. G. MASARYK AND THE MEANING OF CZECH HISTORY

František Palacký and his generation of Czech nationalists laid the groundwork for the popular Czech national movement that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. Czechs, as a nation began to gain significant political power after the Revolutions of 1848. These revolutions, also referred to as the Springtime of Nations, not only ushered in the era of Czech nationalism, but also fostered the growth of mass politics in the Habsburg lands. The Revolutions of 1848 signaled a low point in imperial power that required the imperial government to make concessions to maintain order. The Revolutions of 1848 and the Pan-German Frankfurt Parliament further divided the Austrian and Prussian Empires.

After the Revolutions of 1848, the first generation of Czech nationalist politicians first gained prominence in Bohemian politics. Palacký entered politics, founding the Czech National Party as a result of the 1848 revolutions. By 1860, the emperor, Franz Joseph I, disregarded the reforms gained through the revolutions and reverted back to absolutist forms of government that existed prior to the revolutions. Rising tensions between Austria and Prussia lead to war in 1866. This war, in part engineered by Otto von Bismarck, finally settled German unification on a path of exclusion of Austria in a German nation-state. With Prussian victory at the Battle of Königgrätz, imperial power in Austria crashed. The idea of Greater Germany died as a result of the war and a Lesser Germany became the route that Bismarck pursued.

After Königgrätz, the Hungarians revolted, seeking and gaining equality with Austria. The Czechs did not gain the same concessions as the Hungarians. On Palacký's urging, the Czech National Party did not wish to pursue the same means that the Hungarians did and so were less successful in gaining the same concessions from the imperial government. While Hungary gained equal status with Austria and forced the creation of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, the Czechs only gained a parliament (Landtag) for Bohemia. The Czech National Party split into rival factions over what action to take to gain more rights and status for Czechs. The Old Czechs, the faction now lead by Palacký's son-in-law František Reiger, sought to act in conjunction with the great landowners (due to the nature of the curia system that divided the electorate into unequal blocs determined by a person's wealth) to further their cause and refused participation in the Reichsrat (the Imperial Parliament). The Young Czech faction believed that the only way to Czech autonomy was through active participation in all levels of government. Unwilling to formally separate, the Young Czechs reluctantly followed the direction of Reiger until 1874 when they formally broke from the Old Czechs, forming the National Liberal Party. The Old Czech Party became a key component of the Iron Ring government under Count Eduard Taaffe. The Iron Ring dominated the politics of the Austrian half of the Empire (referred to as Cisleithania-the near side of the Leitha River, Hungary was Transleithania) from 1879 to 1895 by combining conservative German interests, especially with the large landholders' parties, with many of the conservative factions of the Slavic parties.

The split between the Old Czechs and Young Czechs was one example of changes in the electoral politics of Austria-Hungary. Under the Taaffe government's electoral reforms of 1882, the voting franchise for the lowest curia expanded to all males over age 24 who paid a tax of at least five guilders. This almost doubled . While the nobility still controlled the Reichsrat, the expansion of politics to the lower classes ushered in an era of mass politics in Cisleithania.

One pivotal concession that the Czechs did gain was reestablishment of a Czech-language faculty at Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague. Since 1622, Germans controlled the university with instruction in German (instead of Latin) established in 1784, a situation that angered many Czechs. A chair of Czech language and literature was established in 1792, but did not extend further than one professor until 1848. As the demographics changed in Prague (by 1860, Germans were a minority), demands for equality of Czech and German at the university increased. By 1882, the Czech and German portions of the university separated, but maintained common ties to university traditions and shared facilities. One of the most prominent professors at the German University was Albert Einstein. The universities shared some facilities and also the traditional insignia and seal of the university dating back to 1348 that remained in the possession of the German faculty. In 1920, after Czechoslovak independence, the Czech faculty won the fight over the university insignia and seal. With passage of the Lex Mareš (named after Professor František Mareš) by the parliament of Czechoslovakia, the parliament determined that the Czech faculty at the University was the successor of the original Charles University and required the German faculty to relinquish control of the

insignia and seal back to the Czech faculty.⁷² This decision was reversed in 1938 when Germany occupied Czechoslovakia; however, after World War II and the expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia, the German faculty was abolished completely.

One of the first professors hired to lecture at the Czech university was Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk. Masaryk gladly took up the position in Prague as it was his first offer of employment after completing his doctorate in philosophy. Masaryk became one of many Czech leaders who, through education, rose from humble beginnings to lead the nation to independence from Austria-Hungary.

The Rise of Masaryk

Masaryk was born March 7, 1850 to Jozef Masaryk, a Slovak peasant (and former serf), and Teresie Masaryková, linguistically German but of Slavic descent, in the Moravian town of Hodonín. After a childhood spent working on his father's small farm and being an exemplary student, Masaryk finished his primary schooling to the extent that the small town he lived in could support. Still two years too young to begin training at the local teacher's academy, Masaryk's parents apprenticed him to a locksmith in Vienna. According to his own admission, he ran away from his apprenticeship after only three weeks, returning home.⁷³ His parents then apprenticed him to the local blacksmith, work Masaryk claims to have enjoyed, until a position opened with the local schoolmaster.⁷⁴ When Masaryk finally came of age, his parents sent him to the German

⁷² Parliament of Czechoslovakia, *Lex Mareš*, 19 February 1920, no.135/1920.

⁷³ Čapek, *Talks with T. G. Masaryk*, 69.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

gymnasium in Brno, but as his parents could not afford to send him an allowance to live on so he supported himself by tutoring. At Brno, he first witnessed and participated in “clashes as a Czech” against Germans in “quarrels and fights over the comparative merits of our nations.”⁷⁵ Masaryk’s patron, the police captain La Maisson whose children he tutored, received an assignment to Vienna, where Masaryk followed. Upon finishing his gymnasium study in 1872, Masaryk enrolled in the University of Vienna studying mainly philosophy and sociology. As a result of the declaration of papal infallibility in 1870, Masaryk began to question the Catholic faith.

In Austria, once a student completed their doctoral dissertation, in order to qualify for a university position, they were required to publish an additional postdoctoral work. While he was working on his qualification piece, Masaryk attended the University of Leipzig. While there, he met his future wife, Charlotte Garrigue, an American music student. They married on August 10, 1877. As Charlotte was a Unitarian, Masaryk adopted Protestantism upon marriage. Masaryk’s Protestant faith guided much of his work as a professor and later as president.

Masaryk finished his qualification piece, a work about suicide as a social phenomenon and began to lecture in Leipzig. By 1882, with the split of Charles Ferdinand University in Prague into separate Czech and German universities, Masaryk began lecturing as part of the Czech university.

Two major events shaped Masaryk’s tenure as a professor in Prague. First, the Manuscript Controversy brought him to national attention. Appalled by the lack of

⁷⁵ Ibid., 75.

vibrancy in the intellectual world of Prague, Masaryk began the first Czech-language academic journal which he titled *Athenaeum*. Masaryk also proposed a Czech language encyclopedia, with himself as the editor. In 1886, Professor Jan Gebauer, the leading expert on Old Czech, published an article anonymously in *Athenaeum* that conclusively demonstrated that the Zelenohorská and Kralovodvorská manuscripts were forgeries. Many nationalist leaders, especially Palacký and Karel Havlíček Borovský used the manuscripts to demonstrate the supposed ancient literary tradition of the Czech language. As Gebauer did not attach his name to the article, Masaryk received the blame for striking down such an important pillar of Czech nationalism. For months, Masaryk was the most reviled person in Prague.

The manuscript controversy did make Masaryk friends. Many doubts already existed about the authenticity of the manuscripts prior to the publication of conclusive proof from Gebauer. Gordon Skilling, in his biography of Masaryk, believed that engineered the Manuscript Controversy as a way to shake up the Prague university establishment and further some of his goals of educational reform. Masaryk, according to Skilling, was a reformer who sought to reinvigorate the university and Czech intellectual life.⁷⁶ While the Manuscript Controversy did lead to the vigorous debate that Masaryk sought to stimulate, it cost him many of his personal goals. The Czech encyclopedia did proceed, but without Masaryk as editor; he also did not gain full tenure for another ten years, despite promises of tenure after three years given to lure him to Prague, because of the opposition that he stirred up.

⁷⁶ Gordon Skilling, *T. G. Masaryk: Against the Current, 1882-1914* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 3-4.

The second event that shaped Masaryk's tenure at the university was the beginning of the long-standing debate with Josef Pekař, a historian at the university. During the Manuscript Controversy, both agreed that the manuscripts were forgeries, the last time both agreed on anything. Masaryk opposed using the manuscripts as a pillar of nationalism on moral grounds saying that he would prefer Czechs to not have a national heritage than to have one based on falsehood.⁷⁷ Pekař opposed the manuscripts because they did not portray accurate history and opposed his view that through most of history, Czechs and Germans were united.⁷⁸

Pekař, as a Catholic, stood in opposition to many of the Protestant Czech nationalists. Most of the leaders of the Czech national revival of the nineteenth century were Protestants, especially Palacký, Masaryk, Havlíček and Pavel Jozef Šafárik (a Slovak). By the time of the Manuscript Controversy, Masaryk was the most prominent Protestant leader in Bohemia. Much of the debate between the two centered around interpretation of the Hussite period, both believing that the Hussite Wars were the apex of Czech history.

Masaryk believed that the Hussite Wars began as essentially religious in nature but became an expression of nationalism. He also saw continuity between the Bohemian Hussites and Czechs of his time. Throughout his writings, he refers to the Hussite period as "our reformation" as a way to differentiate the Hussite period from the later German

⁷⁷ Čapek, 91.

⁷⁸ Josef Pekař, *Rukopisy se stanoviska historického [Manuscripts from the historical point of view]*, reprint, USU Masaryk Book Collection, item 31 (Prague, 1935?).

reformation lead by Martin Luther.⁷⁹ Masaryk, like Palacký, defended the Hussites by saying that they fought essentially a defensive war, even if at times great acts of cruelty occurred.⁸⁰ This view ignores the “beautiful rides” or excursions into territories that raised armies to invade Bohemia during the crusades against the Hussites. These sorties reached all over Europe and spread terror everywhere they attacked. While Masaryk defended Žižka specifically for defending the country against Germans who supported Rome, he heaped more praise on the pacifism of Petr Chelčický, one of the founders of the Bohemian Brothers Church.⁸¹ Masaryk downplayed the more brutal nature of the wars and sought to show that despite the excesses a model for the future of the nation could be found in the Hussite Period.

By using language like “our reformation,” Masaryk sought to emphasize a continuity with his chosen version of the nation’s past. Our reformation implies that the Hussite had a similar worldview as the Czechs of Masaryk’s time. By selectively pointing out anti-German aspects of the Hussite period, he sought to portray the nationalist aspects of Hussitism. While the appeal of using the vernacular language had certain nationalist overtones, as language is only one aspect of nationalism, this conflict was not directed towards Germans, but to church officials that demanded a Latin mass. As such, vernacular language was an expression of nationalism, but not in the same sense as Masaryk understood nationalism. In Bohemia, many of the church prelates that

⁷⁹ T. G. Masaryk, *Jan Hus, naše osvobození a naše reformace* [*Jan Hus: Our Liberation and our Reformation*] (Prague: Bursík a Kohout, 1923), 3. Reprint of a speech delivered July 17, 1910 at Koží Hrádek, Bohemia.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

demanding the traditional Latin mass were Germans, however, many were also Czechs.

Nationalism, as Masaryk understood it, was an invention of the seventeenth and eighteenth century and did not reflect what happened in the fifteenth century.⁸² Certainly the Hussites had a sense of culture, place, religion and language, but as Bohemians, not Czechs. Moravia, another of the Czech-speaking areas, did not (aside from a small handful of towns) join the Hussite Revolution. As modern nationalism is a more recent phenomenon, his claims of Hussite nationalism are based on little factual evidence and show his political and religious leanings. Masaryk also lauded the Táborsite experiment with communalism, believing it to be an expression of democracy, one of the oldest in Europe.⁸³ Masaryk again projected his times and experiences into his historical examination.

At the university's history faculty, Masaryk's interpretations drew considerable criticism. Even Masaryk's friend from the Manuscript Controversy Josef Goll was skeptical of Masaryk's sloppy methodology but refrained from publishing an article critical of his conclusions.⁸⁴ While Goll refrained from publicly criticizing his friend, his colleague in the history faculty, Josef Pekař did not. Pekař strongly criticized Masaryk's methodology. Pekař noted that even in modern Czech, the word for a Bohemian, *Čech*, is the same as the word that translates into English as Czech. Pekař noted that a Czech-

⁸² see Eric Hobsbawm, *On Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁸³ T. G. Masaryk, *V boji o náboženství [In the conflict over religion]* (Prague: Čin, 1947), 2.

⁸⁴ Karel Kučera, "Masaryk and Pekař: Their Conflict over the Meaning of Czech History and its Metamorphoses," in *T. G. Masaryk (1850-1937)*, Stanley B. Winters, ed., vol. 1 *Thinker and Politician* (London: MacMillan, 1990), 91.

speaking person from Moravia would never call themselves *Čech* but as a *Moravan* or Moravian. This differentiation only began to fade around Masaryk's time, something he himself was well aware of being a Moravian himself. He even gave a speech in Břeclav, Moravia on June 9, 1935 in which he urged Moravians to start referring to themselves as Czechs first and Moravians next.⁸⁵

Pekař gave a speech on July 5, 1902, the anniversary of the burning of Jan Hus, in which he criticized Masaryk's conclusions about the Hussite period. Pekař specifically cited that Masaryk inserted his beliefs that Czechs should break from Rome into his interpretation that the Hussites mainly fought against Germans who supported Pope Clement V and Emperor Sigismund.⁸⁶ Pekař, in his concluding remarks, warned that it was a "big mistake to argue that the thoughts of the leaders of our national uprising are thoughts of religion and that the main motive of our history are nationalist thoughts."⁸⁷ Pekař understood that the Hussite movement was essentially religious and only had a minor appeal to a form of national awareness.

Masaryk, after serving a short term in parliament, broke with the Young Czechs over ideological differences and formed what became the Realist Party. The party's newspaper, *Čas [Time]*, became his vehicle for answering Pekař. The editor of *Čas* was Jan Herben. In a letter to Herben, Masaryk outlined that he believed that the duty of the newspaper was to enlighten the masses. He also instructed Herben to continue to teach

⁸⁵ T. G. Masaryk, "Moravo, Moravičko milá!" speech delivered 9 June 1935 at Břeclav, reprinted in *Čas* 2, 5 January 1938.

⁸⁶ Josef Pekař, *Jan Hus*, speech 5 July 1902 delivered at Old Town Hall, Prague, reprint (Prague: Bursik and Kohout, 1902).

⁸⁷ Ibid.

their readers about the present politics of the Empire.⁸⁸ In a series of articles in *Čas*, Masaryk continued his debate with Pekař, switching to an analysis of František Palacký's ideas about Czech. Masaryk eventually published these articles under the title *Palacký's Idea of the Czech Nation*. Masaryk stated that Palacký emphasized the idea of a break from Rome in his works.⁸⁹ Again, as a reaction to his thoughts, the history faculty lead by Pekař mobilized a response.

Even after Masaryk became president of the newly independent republic, Pekař continued to criticize his methods. Pekař published a work entitled *Masaryk's Czech Philosophy* in which he expanded his criticisms of Masaryk's scholarship and lack of formal historical training (Masaryk studied sociologist and philosophy). He also wrote of Masaryk's interpretation of Palacký, stating that, "Palacký believed that his ancestors carried on the traditions of Hus, and as such, he concluded that Protestantism is the ultimate expression of the Czech nation, a conclusion Masaryk agrees with."⁹⁰ Most damning of all, he concluded that:

It was Masaryk's basic error that he started from himself and also sought those features that resembled himself in a way that is academically inadmissible, that goes against scholarly approach, that he passed over whatever did not agree and drew overly quick conclusions from a distant resemblance to his ideas, accepting it as expressing what he thought.⁹¹

⁸⁸ T. G. Masaryk to Jan Herben, letter dated May 21, 1914, USU Masaryk manuscript collection, box 4, folder 5.

⁸⁹ T. G. Masaryk, *Palackého idea Národa Českého* (Prague: Čin, 1947), 6.

⁹⁰ Josef Pekař, *Masarykova česká filosofie [Masaryk's Czech Philosophy]* (Prague: Nákladem Historického Klubu, 1912), 28.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

Certainly Pekař was correct in his interpretation of Masaryk's historical scholarship, but failed to see that without Masaryk popularizing Czech history to not only a domestic audience but increasingly to an international audience, Pekař's own work gained wider acceptance, especially among believing Catholics.

Masaryk wrote, but never published, a response in 1912. In this work, Masaryk discusses Pekař's periodization of Czech history, something that Pekař admittedly simplified because of limited space in his publication. Ignoring Pekař's arguments about his methodology, Masaryk believed that the true destiny of the Czechs was independence and self-rule, especially from the twin objects of repression: Germans and the Catholic Church.⁹² Masaryk never published this response to Pekař, but as World War I broke out shortly after his he drafted a copy, his reasons are understandable. By the end of the war, Masaryk became president and never again answered Pekař in public. This, however, did not stop Pekař from continuing with a, now one-sided, debate with Masaryk's popular image and public statements.

Pekař began to not only criticize Masaryk but also Palacký and Max Weber. In an exhaustive study on Jan Žižka, Pekař concluded that Hussite times did more harm than help to the Czech national cause. Pekař stated that the "idea of a superior Protestant work ethic shows an extreme misuse of historical fact to achieve political goals."⁹³ This time, Pekař drew criticism from his colleagues for his methods. Karel Kazbunda, in a book published after his death (because of first the Nazi occupation and then the communist

⁹² T. G. Masaryk, *Masarykova česká filosofie [Masaryk's Czech Philosophy]*, unpublished manuscript, USU Masaryk Manuscript Collection, box 4, folder 4.

⁹³ Josef Pekař, *Žižka a jeho doba [Žižka and his Times]*, vol. 1 (Prague: Vesmír, 1928), 20.

government's suppression of Masaryk as a forbidden subject), criticized Pekař and Goll for their criticism of Masaryk. Kazbunda, a student of both Pekař and Goll, concluded that Masaryk, despite injecting his attitudes and opinions into his analysis, was generally correct in his characterizations of the Hussite Revolution as being, in many ways, national -- but Bohemian, not Czech -- in nature and that despite his criticism of Masaryk, Pekař himself mixed his staunch pro-Catholic beliefs in his analysis, something he criticized Masaryk for.⁹⁴

The debate between Pekař and Masaryk reveals some of the fundamental questions facing Czechs from the 1880s to the 1940s. National identity for Czechs only began to emerge in the early part of the nineteenth century, spurred by the influences of urbanization. Czech language only began to emerge as a modern literary language towards the end of the century. Masaryk believed that a nation's soul was visible through its literature.⁹⁵ Masaryk read world literature extensively and had a very good grasp on the implications of his argument. Masaryk argued that after the Králice Bible (the first full-length translation of the Bible into Czech from the original languages, published in 1593), Czech literature declined as a mere twenty five years later, the Bohemian Protestants lost the Battle of White Mountain. Until the early part of the nineteenth century, little, if any Czech-language literature was published. The rise of Czech nationalism created a flowering of literature, something Masaryk regretted as he believed

⁹⁴ Karel Kazbund, *Jaroslav Goll a Josef Pekař ve víru války světové [Jaroslav Goll and Josef Pekař in the War of World Faith]* (Prague: Charles University Press, 2000), xxii.

⁹⁵ T. G. Masaryk, *Můj poměr k literatuře [My Relationship with Literature]*, unpublished manuscript, USU Masaryk Manuscript, box 4, folder 6.

himself too unfamiliar with his native literature to have any expertise.⁹⁶ Masaryk's categorization of literature as being national, for the early twentieth century does reveal much about what Large-scale conflict with Germans also marked this time period, because of demographic shifts caused by urbanization.

Masaryk the Politician

After the almost endless controversies that he faced in the 1890s, Masaryk returned to the life of a university lecturer. For almost ten years, Masaryk did not get involved in politics. In 1899, he became involved in the high profile trial of Leopold Hilsner, a Jew accused of the ritual murder of two young women. The charges, based on traditional Jewish blood libels, had little in the way of actual evidence. Masaryk believed Hilsner to be innocent of the charges and spoke in opposition to the anti-Semitic outcry against Hilsner. Again, Masaryk became the subject of intense public outcry from ultra nationalists and anti-Semites (many of the ultra nationalists lumped Jews with Germans as the majority of Jews in Bohemia spoke German). By 1902, he received an invitation to give a series of lectures in Chicago and accepted to allow much of the public outcry against him to subside. This trip to America became very important to Masaryk when, during World War I, he returned to press claims of independence for Czechoslovakia using many of the contacts he made on his lecture tour.

After his split with the Young Czechs, Masaryk founded his own party, the Realists. Increasingly, Masaryk became directly involved in politics and gravitated away

⁹⁶ Ibid.

from the university. Elected to parliament in 1907, Masaryk continued to press for Czech autonomy in a federal Habsburg Empire. With the outbreak of World War I, Masaryk fled the country with a Serbian passport to avoid being tried as a traitor. Working with other Czechs that fled Austria-Hungary, Masaryk established a committee to agitate for Czech and Slovak independence. Having a Slovak father, Masaryk was uniquely suited to bring together Czechs and Slovaks.

During the war, Masaryk provided intelligence on German and Austrian intentions to the Allied governments. Aided by Edvard Beneš, a Czech, and Milan Štefaník, a Slovak, Masaryk organized a campaign for Czechoslovak independence. Masaryk traveled to Russia, where large numbers of Czech and Slovak soldiers captured in battle with the Austrian army, languished in prisoner of war camps. Masaryk gained permission of the czarist government to organize these prisoners into military units to fight against Austria for the Allies. These units became the Czechoslovak Legion, an army without a state. After the Soviet Revolution of 1917, the Legion fought on the side of the White forces, attempting to overthrow Lenin's Red Army. For a time, the Legion controlled the entire Trans-Siberian Railway.

After the war, Beneš represented Czechoslovak interests at the Paris Peace Conference. While the victorious powers accepted the idea of an independent Czechoslovakia, the practical matter of creating a Czechoslovak state was not as simple a matter. The major powers formed Territorial Commissions to draw borders not only for Czechoslovakia but also for all other states created as a result of the war. These commissions used various criteria to determine the placement of the borders, including

already-existing administrative boundaries between regions as well as the military and commercial importance of an area.⁹⁷ Conflict between Czechs and the minority population of Germans was inevitable, especially given that the Slovaks received majority status, despite there being more Germans than Slovaks inside the borders of Czechoslovakia.

Compounding the issue of nationalities in the new multinational state, in Slovakia, a large population of Hungarians (also called Magyars) lived. The Territorial Commission decided to include these regions as part of Czechoslovakia for various reasons, ignoring their primary criterion of trying to include as many of the state's nationals as possible while minimizing the minority populations, as the reality of the patchwork of ethnicities proved quite impossible to unravel by peaceful means. Beneš in Paris argued that these areas were traditionally part of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia and should be included in the new state. Beneš especially was mindful of the region of the former Duchy of Teschen (Těšín in Czech) because the main railway line connecting Eastern Slovakia with the rest of the country ran through the area. Teschen had a predominantly Polish population as well as extensive coal deposits.⁹⁸ The major powers at the peace conference established a separate commission, the Teschen Commission, to decide the final boundary on that portion of the border.

Ignoring the decision of the Teschen Commission that gave the area to Poland, the Czechoslovak government militarily occupied Teschen, a situation not remedied until

⁹⁷ Ogilvie, 5.

⁹⁸ United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: The Paris Peace Conference, 1919*, vol. IV, 474-475.

both governments met at a Conference in Spa, Belgium in 1920. Half of this area was formally incorporated into Czechoslovakia, but maintained a distinct hybrid culture with its own dialect -- a hybrid of Polish with many Czech and German words. Poles call the area of the Duchy of Teschen that became part of Czechoslovakia Zaolzie, or the lands beyond the Olza River as the river became the new border. The inclusion of this area into Czechoslovakia allowed for continuation of the rail mainline to eastern Slovakia, which was viewed as essential to the interests of Czechoslovakia.⁹⁹

With independence, Masaryk's next task was to create a viable state from the multiple nationalities that existed then in Czechoslovakia. While Czechs and Germans had a long history of conflict, the conflict between Hungarians and Slovaks was even more intense. Slovakia was controlled by Hungary, as Royal Hungary, from the fall of the Great Moravian Empire in 900 CE. Hungarians still view the territory of Slovakia as an integral part of Hungary.

One effort at unification was the establishment of public holidays. The first holiday established was Czechoslovak independence day on October 28. On the first commemoration of this day in 1920, after a day filled with parades and speeches, Masaryk appeared at the site of the Battle of White Mountain, perched on a white horse. His speech that day talked of the vindication of those who fell for the Czech cause in 1620 by creation of the Czech state. The picture of Masaryk on horseback became one of the most enduring symbols of the new republic.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Zygmunt J. Gasiorowski, "Polish-Czechoslovak Relations, 1918-1922," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 35, no. 84 (December 1956): 178-180.

¹⁰⁰ Wingfield, 82.

Public space across the country transformed. The “Founding Fathers” of the nation, Charles IV, Palacký, and Masaryk became the subjects of many memorials and statues. Masaryk became the philosopher-king as president. His debate with Pekař became a one-sided remarks by Pekař in response to Masaryk’s speeches and other public pronouncements without a corresponding response. As president, his powers relegated him to a figurehead role. Masaryk lived in a semi-retirement at his castle retreat at Lány, where he died on September 14, 1937. Beneš succeeded him as president. Pekař, who served as rector of the university from 1931 to 1932, died the same year as Masaryk.

With Masaryk’s death and subsequent Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, Masaryk’s dreams of an independent Czech and Slovak nation-state were crushed. Public memory of Masaryk, viewed as a threat to the Nazi regime and then the subsequent communist regime, was systematically erased. Public monuments to the memory of Masaryk were destroyed and references to Masaryk were withdrawn from public school curriculum. The place of Masaryk in Czech history, other than during a short period during the summer of 1968, was not restored until 1989 after the Velvet Revolution replaced the communist regime.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

T. G. Masaryk understood that to create a viable nation state, a viable nationalism was required first. While Masaryk was no the first to attempt to create a Czech nationality, ultimately, his vision for the nation successfully gained independence. Masaryk's goal of a multinational state that included Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, and Hungarians unfortunately failed. At the Potsdam Conference of 1945, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, lead by Edvard Beneš, urged the victorious Allied Powers to allow them to expel Germans and Hungarians from Czechoslovakia.¹⁰¹ From 1945-1948, as a result of World War II, Germans and Hungarians lost their citizenship and property rights and finally their right to remain in the country. The expulsions finally settled not only the political borders of Czechoslovakia, but also the ethnic and linguistic borders. After 1948, few people classified as German (at the time, one who spoke German) remained in Czechoslovakia.

The Beneš Decrees, as the government acts authorizing the expulsions are known, gained the support of the cabinet of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile. The Foreign Minister, and signatory of the expulsion documents, was Jan Masaryk, son of T. G. Masaryk. The elder Masaryk's dream of a Czechoslovakia that included minority populations died with the outbreak of World War II.

¹⁰¹ United States Department of State, "The Conference of Berlin (the Potsdam Conference), 1945," vol. II., *Foreign Relations of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), 1511

The roots of competition between Czechs and Germans run deep. Norman Naimark dates the roots of the post-World War II expulsions to the Battle of White Mountain in 1620.¹⁰² While this interpretation does take into account modern Czech interpretations that the Habsburg monarchy was a foreign (German) dynasty that suppressed native Czech culture. This interpretation of course ignores that the preceding Luxembourg dynasty that include Kings John the Blind and his son Charles IV. This selective memory illustrates that if a “foreign” king is effective as were the Luxembourg dynasty, their “foreign” background is easily forgotten.¹⁰³ Czech and German competition began at the first contact between the Slavic tribes that became the Czechs and the existing Germanic tribes in what is now Bohemia.

While at times, relations between Czechs and Germans were cordial, at other times, they were antagonistic. For example, some of the issues that surrounded the Hussite Revolution were nationalist in nature, like the demand for the mass and Bible to be in the vernacular language, but these issues were not at the forefront of the revolution. Despite interpretations by notable Czech historians like Palacký and Masaryk of the nineteenth century to the contrary, the Hussite Revolution revolution was characterized by less of a desire to break from Germans as a desire to purify the Roman Catholic Church, especially in regards to the practice of Utraquism. As the Chalice of Utraquism became the symbol of the Hussite movement, the conflict between Czechs and Germans became less important.

¹⁰² Norman Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 120.

¹⁰³ Charles IV, through his mother, did descend from the “native” Přemyslid dynasty. The Habsburgs also descended through this line, but through two female relatives.

With the defeat at White Mountain, the Czech Reformation ultimately failed.

While some remnants remained, the Protestants in the Kingdom of Bohemia returned (by force) to the fold of Rome and became subject to the House of Habsburg. The Habsburgs began a period of cultural domination that did not begin to fade until the reign of Joseph II in the 1780s.

During the reign of Joseph II, reforms inspired by the enlightenment spurred changes in the Austrian Empire. The first reform to have a lasting impact was the guarantee of freedom of religion. This allowed non-Catholics to rise to prominent positions in the empire's hierarchy, especially the Protestant leaders of the Czech national revival. The second reform was the adoption of German as the official language of the empire. The intent of the language reforms was to provide the Empire with a bureaucratic class that spoke a uniform language that could unite the diverse people of the Empire. This intent backfired. Instead of being a factor of unity, the selection of German as the empire's administrative language served to destroy what unity existed between the different nationalities of the empire as many of the non-German speaking peoples resented the favor that Germans gained in Habsburg lands as a result of the language reforms. The third reform that Joseph II initiated that had lasting effects on the empire was the abolition of serfdom. By abolishing serfdom, a reform that on the surface appears to favor the lower-classes, the true beneficiaries became the large landholders. By losing serfs to work the land, the landlords quickly mechanized their agricultural lands which increased production and made the land more profitable. More money increased the nobility's power.

The nobility, in turn, used their influence to further gain power at the expense of the monarchy. The nobility created many cultural institutions at the beginning of the nineteenth century that created and spread an rebirth of Czech culture to the lower classes. The creation of the Bohemian Museum and creation of the *Journal of the National Museum*, with František Palacký as editor, helped to popularize Czech history and brought the nationalist version of Czech history to the masses. Later in the century, the National Theater further helped to create a distinctive Czech nationality by providing an avenue for artistic expression of culture. Composers like Bedřich Smetana and Antonín Dvořák used traditional Czech melodies and themes from Czech folklore in their compositions. Despite imperial desires to unify the empire, the creation of these distinctive cultural institutions served to separate Czechs from Germans.

Politically, the Revolutions of 1848 and the ethnically-based conferences of Prague and Frankfurt furthered the idea of distinct nationalities. Czechs, as a result of the revolutions, gained a parliament for Bohemia and representation in the imperial parliament that emerged as a result of imperial weakness. While Czechs, by now lead politically by Palacký, wished for more autonomy, but still supported the empire. With the crushing defeat of Austria in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, Hungarians revolted and forced the Austrians to recognize their national claims and created the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. Due to the urging of Palacký, Czechs were unwilling to openly revolt and merely pressed for further steps toward autonomy by boycotting the parliament.

Many in the Czech National Party, upset with Palacký's leadership, broke from the party, forming their own rival party, the Young Czechs (Palacký's Czech National Party became popularly known as the Old Czechs). The Young Czechs participated in the parliament and did help to gain further Czech autonomy, including wider suffrage.

One of the most important cultural institutions of the Czech lands was Charles University in Prague. Home to Jan Hus and other important leaders of the Hussite Revolution, after White Mountain, the university came under the control of the Jesuit order. Czech was not a language of instruction again until 1793. In 1882, the university split into Czech and German universities that shared the facilities and traditions.

One of the first professors hired for the new Czech University was Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk. Masaryk quickly became the center of controversy, first with the Manuscript Controversy that led to his wide recognition throughout the Czech lands, despite much of the attention being negative. Masaryk further engaged with his colleague at the university, Josef Pekař, in a debate over the meaning of Czech history. This debate continued through each's career at the university. Masaryk entered politics in 1907, and remained in the parliament until 1914, when he was forced to flee the country at the outbreak of World War I.

In exile, Masaryk successfully pressed the Western Allies for creation of an independent Czechoslovakia. Masaryk also traveled to Russia and oversaw the creation of another institution, the Czechoslovak Legion. Legionaries were recruited from Russian prisoner of war camps to fight along side the Russians against Austria-Hungary. With the Soviet Revolution in October 1917, the Legion aided the White forces and for a

time occupied the Trans-Siberian Railway. The Legion was quite literally an army without a country and became important symbols of Czechoslovak contributions to the ending of the war.

After the war, Masaryk became president of the new Czechoslovak republic. Immediately on the creation of the new state, conflict between Czechs and Germans built. By the 1930s, the Germans in Czechoslovakia allied with the rising Nazi Party of Germany and by 1938, Germany demanded and received from France and Britain the border region known as the Sudetenland. Loss of this region meant the loss of the only defensible terrain and fortifications that rivaled the French Maginot Line in Czechoslovakia. By the end of the year, Bohemia and Moravia were annexed into the Third Reich.

Czechs blamed the Germans for the Nazi occupation and the atrocities committed by the invaders. The village of Lidice became a symbol of the struggle to rid the country of Germans as the Nazis razed the city after the assassination of Reinhardt Heydrich. Finally, after the war, the Czechs and Slovaks finally controlled Czechoslovakia without a German influence.

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